

UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN



WOMEN POLITICAL RECRUITMENT WITHIN LOCAL COUNCILS: THE SELECTION OF WOMEN POLITICAL LEADERS IN UGANDA. A CASE OF BUSHENYI DISTRICT LOCAL COUNCIL AND KAMPALA CITY COUNCIL.

A Thesis Submitted to the Department of Administration and Organisation
Theory in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Master of Philosophy
in Public Administration.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my dear parents, Adrian and Venn Baketuraki who gave me a firm foundation of education for this project.

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For any errors in this thesis, I accept full responsibility.

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List of Abbreviations

BLG	Bushenyi Local Government
KCC	Kampala City Council
LGA	The Local Government Act, 1997
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NRC	National Resistance Council
FWODE	Forum for Women in Democracy
LC	Local Council
RCs	Resistance Councils
Sec.	Section
Art.	Article
UNICEF	United Nations International Children Educational Fund

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The Uganda local government system is based on the District as a unit under which there are lower Local Governments and Administrative Units (The 1995 Uganda Constitution Art. 176). The system is structured into two basic categories; the urban councils and the rural councils. Urban councils are classified as City council (equivalent to a District council), City division councils, Municipal councils, Municipal division Councils and Town councils. Rural councils on the other hand comprise of District Councils and Sub-county Councils. The composition of each of these councils is clearly spelt out in the Local Governments Act (LGA), 1997 and the Act's Amendments of 1997 and 2001.

The law among other things provides for women representation and leadership in local councils. Women according to the law are entitled to at least *one third* of each local government council composition (LGA Sec 11 and 24) and atleast 1/5 of the Ministerial (Secretary) council leadership positions (LGA Sec 17(3)). The stipulated leadership includes the Speaker and deputy speaker, the Chairperson/Mayor and Vice chairperson/Deputy mayor in rural and urban local councils respectively, the Council Secretaries/Ministers (Executive Committee members not exceeding five), and Council Standing Committee Chairpersons. The Constitution and the LGA are the central laws on which my study of women political leadership is based.

This study focuses on the selection of women for elective offices within local government councils. It explores factors that enable women to access leadership positions within the Uganda local governments as well as those that hinder them. The study is carried out at local council five (LCV), the highest local council level in the Ugandan decentralised system of governance.

The first chapter gives a background of my study, which encompasses developments that have given rise to the universal concern of women political involvement and participation. It elaborates the research problem giving highlights of pertinent issues on the current selection for elective political offices in Uganda's local governments.

The chapter gives a brief description of my theoretical perspective, and presents methodology and strategies applied during my research, showing sources of data, the scope of study and limitations. It ends with a brief summary of the organisation of the thesis.

1.1 Background to the Study

Women in the recent decades have successfully pushed for increased acceptance and participation in many arenas including political representation and leadership (Tripp 2002: 11). Political representation and participation of women have particularly assumed a global significance aiming at empowering women to reduce their inequality with men in the society. Arguments for raising women proportions in politics include inter alia; the principle of justice between sexes, identification of particular women interests, enhancing the quality of political life and least of all, offering a role model of successful women politicians (Phillips 1995:62). Of these arguments, Phillips regards the principle of justice between sexes as the most crucial one because of our societal existing obstacles that keep women out of political life through intentional or structural discrimination (pp 63).

Women's political participation is crucial for ensuring democracy and as Craske observes, the representativeness of any political system can be gauged from the composition of its decision-making bodies in which members from all sections of society need to be involved (Craske 1999:1). Gender equality is a human rights issue and a necessity if there is to be a sustainable and people-centred development. The Beijing Platform of Action as adopted at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 4-15 September 1995) noted that "...empowerment of women and equality between women and men are prerequisites for achieving political, social, economic, cultural and environmental security among all peoples".

<http://www.unece.org/stats/gender/web/welcome1.htm> on 10/9/03

Recognising the necessity for the empowerment and autonomy of women, the Beijing Conference came up with measures to improve women's social, economic and political status geared at creating transparent and accountable government and administration and sustainable development in all areas of life. The observation made

was that existing power relations prevent women from leading fulfilling lives both at personal and public levels of the society.

One major goal of the 1995 United Nations Beijing World Conference was to achieve equal representation of women and men in all governmental and public administration positions including governmental bodies and committees as well as in non-governmental organizations. The Conference's one outcome was the setting of goals and strategies to substantially increase the number of women in public spheres. <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/decision.htm> on 10/09/03

As a result, the 1995 Beijing Conference endorsed Quota systems to increase the number of women representation in politics and since then there have been wide adaptation of the policy in various countries world over. The quota system sets a minimum percentage of representation for both sexes to ensure a balanced presence of women and men in political and decision making posts. It is intended to address the inequalities engendered by law and culture, provide women access to decision making posts and to open the gates of male dominated legislative assemblies to all women regardless of their socio-economic status and political backgrounds. (<http://www.cld.org/waw5.htm> on 3/11/2003)

The Beijing platform of Action therefore can be seen as a cornerstone in the women history that set the ball rolling for more women involvement in the political game.

1.1.1 Women political problem

The problems of political gender inequalities can neither be limited to a few countries nor to particular political institutions. It is universally inherent in social-political systems of all nations and it virtually affects the entire process of political recruitment at all levels. The only difference of these problems may be found in the level of magnitude in each country, political institution or organisation.

Craske observes that in Latin American politics, although women have had a vote for several decades, there is still only limited representation of women at all levels of government and within state bureaucracies (Craske 1999: 60). Karvonen and Selle

(1995:3) recognise that with a few exceptions among industrialised nations, women remain outside the centres of decision making throughout the world in terms of status, influence and power, which are available to men. They stress that cultural values continue to marginalise women identity and interests and public policies continue to reflect the priorities of men.

Studies of the Western democracies where women's political representation has been strengthened during recent decades to gain more elective offices show that women representation does not apply to all countries equally. Some countries display rapid growth in women representation while others practically have slow or no increase at all. Men continue to dominate political arenas as Phillips notes; "outside the Nordic countries political elites continue to be resolutely male: a solid phalanx of dull-suited men, with only the occasional splash of female colour" (Phillips 1995:59). A similar view held by Goldsmith (2000) points out that though the women numbers have increased over time in the West, many Municipal councils are still largely male preserves, with debate dominated by men (pp.17). It is also argued that in these countries, like in many others world over (Uganda inclusive), the share of women obtaining representative and executive posts is still way below their share of total population (Karvonen and Selle 1995; also see Goldsmith 2000). Phillips wonders what natural superiority of talent or experience men could claim a right to dominate assemblies (1995:65).

The recent developments have endeavoured to put in place measures to challenge the presumed generic men political superiority status quo and to ensure gender parity in the public spheres and particularly in the field of political representation. The argument for a focus on women equality in the electoral office as compared to other public fields has been that political offices have rarely been conceived as a matter of individual rights before. Beyond the reformulation of individual rights to political office however there has been a positive political action to ensure that more women can access political arenas. Such action includes approaches like women quotas and enabling laws to effect women rights and privileges which some governments have partially or fully adopted.

1.2 Research problem

Historically until now, the rate of women participation in political life in most countries is still very low and they remain underrepresented in many political organs especially elective ones (Killian 1997, cited in Massoi 2003: 5). Killian observes that a number of women still lack confidences to vie for political positions. Studies carried out on women representation and political participation point out several limitations including cultural and political constraints, high level of illiteracy, poverty, and institutional impediments (Killian 1997; Massoi 2003; Sue and Wilcox 1998; Craske 1999; Phillips 1995; Karvonen and Selle 1995; Fowler 1993, Prewitt 1970). These writers (and many others) consider family responsibilities, persistent old-age images and stereotypes that programmed attitudes, behaviours and perception of women and men; the existing political structures and their legal frameworks, as major causes of gender imbalance within societies. To Killian, even where the law provides for *women special seats*, the mechanisms, processes and modality of choosing women representatives to occupy them is vague and undemocratic (Massoi 2003:5). The above problems are exacerbated as we go higher in the political hierarchy.

In spite of enormous efforts for women empowerment and increased political participation in Uganda, opportunities of direct competition for political power between men and women are still minimal. It is true that affirmative action and other institutional changes have improved the gender inequality situation in Ugandan politics. Women numbers have considerably increased more particularly with the NRM regime (Tripp 2002: 8). As Tripp asserts, of late “Everywhere you go, women are more and more visible. And also they have gained the courage and more confidence” (Tripp 2002:11).

There are indicators however that in politics, women basically have tendencies of vying for quota *special seats* than contesting for ordinary general representation. This is not only because women feel they can compete favourably with their fellow women but also because women find it more appropriate to represent those whom they share characteristics with as it is agitated in descriptive and proportional representation (Pitkin 1967; Bochel et al 2000). The problem however is that as we move higher in the political hierarchy, issues of *what* is represented tend to supersede *who* is

represented. Political leadership tasks come to demand much more than women numbers and characteristics. Political selection therefore becomes dictated upon by a multitude of other factors than the quota law. Moreover the current Uganda's quota law only provides for at least *one third* of local councils and at least *one fifth* of the local council ministerial posts¹. This leaves men with higher probabilities of occupying the remaining 2/3 and 4/5 of the available political offices respectively. Women however are free to compete for the remaining non-quota (general) seats so as to increase their numbers both at the representational and leadership level. Some women (though often a few) have stood and been selected on the general ticket. Nevertheless, with our longstanding social-political impingements against women political involvement, in the absence of quota law and other institutional measures, women increased selection probabilities remain minimal in the contemporary Uganda and perhaps the world at large.

Nationally women in Uganda are said to be under-represented compared to their national demographic composition gender proportions. Their political share is therefore still far below their demographic numbers at all levels. Uganda's population estimated at 24.7 million people to date comprise of 12.1m males and 12.6m females (<http://www.ubos.org/appendix1.pdf> 01/10/2003)².

The total population of women therefore outnumbers that one of men and compared to those holding political offices, numbers of women involved in politics are still low. So far, Uganda's figures of women representation both in parliament and local councils have been put at 24% in 2003 (<http://allafrica.com/stories/200303040059.html> On 04/06/2003).

This study therefore explores proportions of women representation and leadership at the local council levels and ways through which women advance to positions higher in the political hierarchy. Facts show that women are many demographically and that with the quota law provision of at least one third, women form a considerable number of councillors at local levels. But what are actual proportions of women in these councils and what fraction are those who occupy political leadership positions of the councils out of the total women councillors? What reasons do we attribute to the

¹ LGA Sec 11 and 17

² Population census report Nov 2002

current political representation and leadership situation within local government councils in Uganda? Should we hail or blame the social-political institutions as some writers argue or the individualities that build or ruin their own careers? The discussions in the subsequent chapters will unfold facts behind issues of political recruitment in the contemporary Uganda.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The study sets to answer questions regarding factors determining women recruitment into local councils' leadership positions. It was also intended to establish political leadership selection opportunities for urban and rural women councillors, quota versus non-quota women councillors and men versus women councillors.

1.4 Justification of the study

Many contemporary studies have basically been focussed on representative democracy. Their attention has been on women selection into legislatures particularly at the national level emphasizing on the obstacles faced by women in the selection processes. These studies have tended to analyse women political representation problem at the general public level. This study's approach however is quite different. It examines the women recruitment from *the preselected – the local councils*. It attempts to establish the factors, processes, and the obstacles related to women political career advancement from being mere councillors or legislators to political leaders. Does women political recruitment 'within' or 'without' make a difference? Do women representation obstacles affect their advancement in their political careers as well?

1.5 Significance of the study

The study information will be of great significance most especially to the academicians, scholars and other researchers. The presented findings will enhance their understanding of the issues surrounding women and political leadership in the local council legislatures. Feminists will obtain facts to back their agitation for furthering women empowerment in political arenas and fighting gender imbalances in

the higher circles of political hierarchy while individual local governments may adopt some suggestions of the study's findings to increase women numbers in their legislatures.

1.6 Theories and variables used in the study

There are many theories advanced in relation to political recruitment. In this study whose central theme is analysing how women assume political leadership positions, I intend to focus on *Prewitt's Political Recruitment Theories*. The use of these theories is intended to enable understanding of the processes through *which* people move into and out of political offices, *how* and *why* as we shall see in the next chapter. These theories will be used to discuss factors underlying women leadership selection in the local councils and the process of obtaining women leaders, first as councillors then as committee chairs or other designated political leadership posts.

Prewitt (1970; and other theorists like Fowler 1993 and Kornberg 1979) hold a view that a few govern many and that a few originate from the many (Prewitt 1970:6; Fowler 1993:43 also see and Prewitt and Verba 1975:117). This is why we need to examine a selection process that will continuously sieve candidates from the general population level to the governors or leaders. The selection process is influenced by various factors as; social eligibility, legal qualifications, existing political structures, political activists and candidacy. The variables related to the study which these theorists point out include such factors as; educational attainment, occupational backgrounds, social origins (that encompass wealth and status, and class), institutional processes (rules, regulations and procedures), individual traits, abilities, interests and ambitions. Such factors like influence from those holding high offices may have a big impact on the selection process since such people can use their power to influence the voters or determine the political opportunities and procedures to fill such positions that in a way may favour some candidates against others (Prewitt and Verba 1975:120).

Prewitt as well as Fowler believe that social-political institutions and individual factors are a basis for political leadership selection (Fowler 1993:16, Prewitt 1970:11) and according to Prewitt; it depends upon the view of the observer to study leadership

using either individual or institutional approach (ibid). The two theorists however note that a single theory cannot comprehensively explain political phenomena and that different scholars have attempted to deduce the nature of structural inferences by examining the individuals who get elected or they have drawn conclusions about candidates from studying political rules and organisations (Prewitt 1970:15; also see Fowler 1993:42). Prewitt thus stresses, “Though either approach can be useful, explanations of leadership selection using only one of them suffer from many instances of misplaced inference”(ibid). This concern therefore calls for a comprehensive theory that blends different theoretical traditions and approaches for a proper understanding of political leadership. It is why in this study I have used both approaches (individual and institutional) to examine women political careers in local politics as we shall see in the subsequent chapters.

1.7 Research Hypotheses

Many studies have established that women representation is problematic because of the various hindrances and as such men dominate political arenas. It is realised however that inspite of numerous hurdles, through women quotas and general representation, a number of women have made a break-through and can be viewed in both local and national legislatures. Since this study is examining the advancement opportunities for those women who made it to the local legislatures and since women access to legislatures takes form of quota representation or/and general representation, my research hypotheses are that:

- 1) *It is easier for non-quota women than quota women political representatives to be selected in political leadership positions*
- 2) *The prevailing institutional framework favour selection of men more than women into political leadership positions.*

1.8 Research methodology and limitations

Research involves data collection and analysis by use of various approaches. Although many scholars have tended to commonly employ in their studies quantitative or qualitative approaches, Creswell has realised the shortfall in the two and suggests a third approach – the *mixed methods* (Creswell 2003: 18). According to

Yin, the distinguishing of qualitative and quantitative research approaches used by some investigators is based not on the type of evidence but on their different theoretical beliefs (Yin1994:14). Creswell defines a quantitative approach as “one in which the investigator primarily uses postpositivist³ claims for developing knowledge..., employs strategies of inquiry such as experiments and surveys and collects data on the predetermined instruments that yield statistical data” (pp 18). Qualitative approach on the other hand “is one in which the inquirer often makes knowledge claims based on constructivist⁴ perspectives ... or advocacy/participatory perspectives...or both” (ibid).

The research methods used in the quantitative research include close ended questions, predetermined approaches and numeric data. Qualitative research on the other hand employs open-ended questions, emerging approaches and text or image data (Creswell 2003: 19). Realising that each of these approaches had limitations, researchers felt that biases inherent in any single method could neutralise or cancel the biases of other methods with the use of mixed methods approach (pp: 15).

The mixed methods approach, according to Creswell “is one in which the researcher tends to base knowledge claims on the pragmatic⁵ grounds” (pp: 18). It is sequence oriented, problem centred and pluralistic and it integrates both qualitative and quantitative data approaches and methods.

1.8.1 Data collection Approaches and Strategy

Although there are various research approaches as described above, due to the shortcomings often associated with the quantitative and qualitative approaches and methods this study employed the *mixed methods* approach. The use of mixed method approach was also due to the nature of the study that is of pragmatic nature. Women involvement in politics is an outstanding contemporary issue seeking solutions

³ Postpositivism is a reductions approach that employs scientific methods to determine the cause-outcome relations (Creswell 2003:7)

⁴ Constructivists focus on the processes of interaction among individuals and base on subjective meaning of their experiences to understand the world in which they live. The Advocacy/participatory approach goes further to make action agenda for reforms to address issues of social justice for the marginalised groups (Creswell 2003:9)

⁵ Pragmatism focuses on problems and solutions to problems rather than the methods. To pragmatists, Knowledge arise out of actions, situations, and consequences rather than antecedent conditions (Creswell 2003: 11)

focused on increasing women numbers in political arenas and minimising gender inequalities in political participation. It is a complex phenomenon involving many factors, processes and explanations. It is a social phenomenon viewed from different perspectives by different people and its meaning has been socially constructed, politically developed and has tended to be given historical explanations. For this reason, the qualitative approach would be ideal since it eases the complexity and allows flexibility in the study of such a phenomenon (Maxwell 1996:2; also see Punch 1998: 243).

Quantitative approach and methods on the other hand are essential if one seeks to understand factors or variables that influence an outcome (Creswell 2003: 74). This is of great relevance in the study of political leadership that has always been dominated by men; seeking possible reasons behind this phenomenon and establishing why women have gained more access into political arenas of recent than before. The use of questionnaires and structured interviews (quantitative methods) was considered as a better way of gathering data for generalisation from the sample of women local councillors to the entire women population.

A case study and comparative research strategies were adopted and the data collection methods used ranged from observation to interviews and questionnaires (both open ended and close-ended). According to Yin (1994:15), case studies may be based on any mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence and as he argues, “the case study strategy should not be confused with a qualitative research”. This observation backs my preference of using the mixed methods during this study particularly at the data collection level.

A *case study strategy* was found suitable to this study because women and political involvement is a contemporary issue and it was impossible to control or manipulate behaviours of the events and processes within this area of study. In a case study the researcher explores in-depth a program, an event, an activity, a process or one or more individuals. The cases are bounded by time and activity and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time (Stake 1995 cited in Creswell 2003:15). Case studies are the preferred strategy when *how* or *why* questions are being posed, when the investigator has little

control over events and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within the real life context (Yin 1994:1).

The study was intended to find how women assume political leadership positions. It explores why some women find it easier to assume political offices while others do not. Selection of the case study strategy also had a lot to do with the nature of the techniques to be used in the data collection. These included references to primary and secondary documents, direct observation, questionnaires with open-ended questions and interviews (Yin 1994:8). A *comparative research strategy* used in the cases would help to establish whether women access to leadership positions in the urban or rural council differed and what factors determined selection of women leaders in each of them.

1.8.2 Sample selection and unit of analysis

The selection of the cases and the individual participants was purposively done to enable me understand the study problem and answer my research questions. The study covered two local governments, one urban and one rural based, of the similar political and administrative level. These were Kampala City council and Bushenyi Local Government. Both Local Governments are at the level of a District and they are referred to, as Local Council V. Kampala City Council comprised of 31 councillors while Bushenyi Local Government comprised of 50 councillors. Each councillor represents a constituency established as per Electoral Commission procedures. Among the total councillors for each council there is a chairman/Mayor who represents the entire district. The composition of the district council is stipulated under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1997.

The unit of analysis was individual councillors, more particularly those holding leadership positions within the council and technocrats⁶. These included the District Executive that comprise of the District Chairperson/Mayor, Vice chairperson, Ministers/Secretaries for respective sectors as stipulated under Section 17(2) of the

⁶ See the summary of respondents in appendix I

Act⁷. Included in my sample were also the District speaker and his/her deputy, and chairpersons for Sectoral committees. The basis of selecting this sample was because these are core political leaders of the district and have knowledge and experience of the council procedures and operations. Individual contact of each of these leaders would enable me to obtain statistical numbers and personal first hand information of those holding such positions through a headcount procedure.

Another category of people selected as part of my sample population was other councillors (both men and women) for their personal views on the district leadership. These councillors participate in election of those holding leadership positions and therefore have their own analysis of the selection procedures and performance of those steering the council activities.

My sample also comprised of the technocrats who included the Chief Administrative Officer, Council Clerks and the Electoral Commission District Registrar/Returning Officer. These are well versed with the election procedures and council laws. Because of their regular contact and interaction with councillors in their day-to-day duties they were likely to have a more understanding of the nature, abilities and other personal attributes of individual councillors with regard to their participation in the council meetings and activities.

Two Ministry of Local Government (MOLG) officials were also included in the sample. These were the Commissioner for Local Councils Development and the Under Secretary. The selection of the two respondents was also based on the fact that they oversee the local governments operations and therefore have national view and information of most if not all these local governments and councils.

1.8.3 Data Collection Techniques

The collection of data was done through interviews and questionnaires (for primary data) and use of documentary sources (for secondary data). Basing on my research

⁷ A mayor is the title for an urban council chairperson. The law also stipulates a number of council secretaries not exceeding five each council. This gives us an average total of seven executive members per council.

proposal (the research problem, questions, and objectives), I came out with a self-administered questionnaire, which I used to collect information from across section of councillors. It was seeking personal opinion on several aspects of selection of council leaders and women participation in the council politics. The questionnaire also sought for individual information like age, sex, marital status, constituency represented, education level, income, occupational background, previous political participation, and the current position held in the council. These variables together with the personal opinions above mentioned would help me find out whether they were related to leadership selection. Observation was one other primary tool used to confirm some information obtained through interviews, questionnaires and secondary data sources. Secondary data sources included published and unpublished books and articles from different organisations including the local governments' records centres, Education Institutions Libraries, Ministries and Non Governmental Organisations. This source supplemented information obtained through primary data mentioned above. These documents include; The 1995 Uganda Constitution, The Local Government Act, 1997; Rules of procedure for District Local Councils; Capacity building for of Women councillors (Training Manual for Ministry of Local Government); Some papers of relevance material to the research problem presented by MOLG officials in different forum; Literature and publications on women empowerment, political participation women and media obtained from libraries of Forum for Women in Democracy (a women NGO) and the Department of Gender and Development Studies, Makerere University ; Councillors Charts for the two selected case studies for two terms of office; 1998-2002 and 2002-2006.

1.8.4 Data Analysis

Although the mixed method strategy was adopted in this study, this research is more of the qualitative nature and basically the methods of data analysis are qualitative. The qualitative data analysis process involves making sense out of the text and image data. During this process, the researcher through continual reflection about the collected data moves deeper to understanding and representing the data and deriving an interpretation of the larger meaning of the data (Creswell 2003:190).

I have explained above how I collected data using mixed methods (both qualitative and quantitative) through interviews, questionnaires and making observation notes. This data was then recorded into numeric and non-numeric form, some being transcribed into texts and the other tabulated to ease the data analysis process. The recorded data was categorised into easier analytical units, basically using the earlier developed categories in the questionnaires like age, sex, marital status, religion, education level, income, past experiences (including political and occupational) were a basis of classification. For open ended questions responses however, the use of categories such as political affiliation and individual capabilities developed by examining the data was inevitable. To quantify such data, I enumerated responses for similar or same phrases obtained from my respondents and this is how I would reach some of the percentages of respondents on certain specified aspects (refer to questions 15-17 in the questionnaire in Appendix II).

The categorized data consisting of tables (displaying figures and percentages) as well as the narrative texts was meant to simplify the study's final analysis and interpretation (see chapter 5). While the narrative texts portrayed direct explanation for women selection to political leadership, the figures and percentages enabled me to deduce the possible implications of the factors being analysed.

1.8.5 Limitations of the study.

My data collection was not as satisfactory as expected. Although I was able to meet some councillors in leadership, the rest were not easy to access. Councillors are part time except the executive members, speaker and deputy speaker (LGA Sec 20(1); Amendment 2001 Sec 7(11)) Most of them are self-employed while others are employed by private enterprises. The constituencies that these councillors represent are scattered all over each district and some are not easily accessible. Still some councillors do not reside full time in their constituencies. A combination of these factors made it somehow difficult for me to access a good number of them since it was quite hard to locate them. In any case some of them give a low or no response about political issues once they are conducting other private businesses. Others do not allow being approached council issues outside council schedules and premises. This problem thus resulted into a lower respondent number than I had planned for.

Another limitation was the time element. The time given for the data collection was too short to enable me make certain observations. I was for instance unable to attend the general council meetings as planned because the months of July and August in which I was collecting data were the recess period for most councils as it is the beginning of the national financial year and normally there is quite less general council activity around this period.

One other problem encountered was the difficulty in obtaining the required information regarding numbers or statistical data. Due to a problem of poor records management, most information was not readily available or would be incomplete. Some other information is taken as being classified or confidential and therefore is not easily disseminated to the outsiders.

In spite of the above shortcomings, I was able to obtain the data sufficient enough for my study. This was because most of the respondents I contacted showed interest in the topic of study and were cooperative in giving the required information within their reach. The sample I took also was knowledgeable on council matters and procedures including the law provisions. This enabled me to obtain much more detailed information and references. The accessed records though not much, were quite clear and elaborative to enable me make my own observation, interpretation and conclusions.

1.9 Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis comprises of Six Chapters. *Chapter One* as already noted gives a background to my study, explains my research problem, analyses the methodology applied in the study and gives a brief of my theoretical approach. It specifies my research objectives and hypotheses. It also sheds a light on shortcomings of the study. *Chapter Two* presents and elaborates theories of women political recruitment, and the literature and impediments of women political involvement. In *Chapter Three* a historical account of women representation and political participation in Uganda local government councils is described. *Chapter Four* maps out the current local government system – the Institutional and Legal structures that govern the local governments in Uganda and in *Chapter Five* facts about political leadership of

Bushenyi Local *Government* and Kampala City Council are presented. Finally, ***Chapter Six*** as a conclusive chapter rounds up the study with my general analysis, interpretations and discussions, way forward and drawn conclusions.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the concepts and theories related to selection and leadership in elective offices. It discusses the existing theories about women political recruitment. The study basically applies *Prewitt's model of political leadership selection* behind which are theories that scholars such as Prewitt and Verba (1975), Kornberg et al (1979) and Fowler (1993) have adapted. Prewitt's model of political leadership selection is used in this study because it explains the process through which leaders get sieved from the general population to retain only a few who wield political power and authority. The theories advanced explain factors that determine political leaders' moulding and selection. They consider both institutional and individual aspects as determinants of political careers.

Most of these theories have earlier been advanced to explain factors behind selection of political representative candidates into legislatures (such as congresses, parliaments), but I use them here to discuss selection of candidates from within local councils to *leadership positions*⁸. This is because as pointed above, selection of leaders is a long process that begins as early as the time political representatives' are recruited from the public and proceeds by narrowing down until only a few governors are chosen (Prewitt and Verba 1975:121; also see Prewitt 1970). By nature of their long-standing political marginalisation, women candidates who happen to compete for and win representation positions are believed to possess capabilities to advance for higher political positions. This applies to both categories – those who compete with their fellow women for quota seats and those who compete with men and other women for general seats. For the latter category however, their selection suggests that they have special attributes and abilities over and above the rest of the women who only vie for women seats. The public selects them because of these abilities and this may imply that their probabilities of advancing to higher political offices are likely to be more than their colleagues who are women representatives.

⁸ leadership positions in this study refers to committee chairs, executive committee members, Speaker and deputy speaker

Political leadership selection is seen as a gradual process – from citizenry to representatives and lastly to governors. To obtain leaders, citizens get involved at one stage or another through participation, representation, or becoming the selected governors. A brief review of these three concepts therefore would be crucial for a better understanding of the entire recruitment process.

2.1 Concepts of Participation, Representation and Leadership

Political participation, representation and leadership (as far as women are concerned) are ways of empowering women and reducing gender inequality. Women get involved in political matters and decision making processes at different political levels and by so doing they come to assess their situation, build consciousness/awareness about their rights, know available opportunities and resources and ways of accessing them (Massoi 2003:21). They are also able to generate ideas and policies geared at promoting women interests and their further empowerment and as Karl observes, political participation has enabled women to make a considerable success in influencing political agenda in the recent decades (Karl 1995:5).

The system of local government I am presenting in my study is made in such a way that political participants generate political representatives and from these representatives leaders are chosen. It therefore becomes essential to discuss the concept of political leadership together with participation and representation. A description of the three concepts here below highlights their linkage and their importance in this study.

2.1.1 Political Participation

Participation ‘is the point where women are taking decisions alongside with men.....in public political meetings, in planning and formulating policies and programmes, and in decision making from grassroots level to the regional and national levels’ (Karl 1995:109). It is one way of people taking part in the democratic process. It may be seen through people’s involvement in decision-making processes

by becoming representatives of the local community or through influencing government and exercise of power by voting in elections (Bochel et al 2000:9)

Participation includes people's involvement in pressure groups (such as associations, and organisations), political parties, voting, campaigning on behalf of particular candidates, holding public offices, and standing for elections (Bochel et al 2000:9, also see Karl 1995:109 and Prewitt and Verba 1975:100). Citizens participate either individually or through civil society organisations. Prewitt and Verba describe some ways in which this participation takes place. They note for instance that through voting citizens choose political leaders; they involve in campaign activity so as to influence the votes of others; they initiate contacts with government officials to get things done; they stage protests, marches and demonstrations so as to express their political points of views; and they involve in communal activities to form formal or informal groups which work together to influence the government (Prewitt and Verba 1975:100).

The above description of participation makes it much broader than representation and political leadership but in a way it embraces both. Although not all people who participate in politics become representatives or leaders, all leaders and representatives get involved in political participation.

2.1.1.1 Why is political participation considered important?

As seen above, participation enables citizens to select leaders that they feel are suitable to represent their interests and serves as one way of influencing the government and political leaders to respond to citizens' needs and desires. Prewitt and Verba argue that, 'Only if they participate, can citizens communicate to their leaders what goals they wish the government to pursue and how they want government to allocate resources' (1975:100). Karvonen and Selle (1995) stress that although there may be arguments that participation does not guarantee real influence, '... it is, if nothing else, a necessary prerequisite to influencing public policy' (pp: 29). Tukaheebwa's view is that citizens' participation also can be seen as a mechanism of

holding political representatives accountable to their electorates (Tukaheebwa 1998:27).

At the representative and leadership level, participation offers individuals opportunity to access political power and build political careers. Those who become politically active stand chances of being selected for higher political posts. High activism is also associated with the high opportunities of individual leaders/representatives to influence the decisions taken to suit their interest or interests of their particular constituencies.

The purpose of political participation presented above notwithstanding, women have been found to be affected by a number of interrelated factors which disable them from full political involvement. These include limited access to financial resources, cultural traditions and attitudes (including customary restrictions, domestic violence and conservatism), legal discrimination and restrictions, and media reporting that is often negative and discriminatory towards women particularly those who have ‘surpassed the tradition’ and joined the public sphere.

Participation nevertheless is ideally intended to and often enables representatives and leaders to make and review policies that are in line with the interests of their electorates save some instances where the representatives and leaders make decisions intended to benefit themselves.

2.1.2 Political Representation

Political representation has been described as ‘a process in which one person or group has the capacity, usually formally established to speak, and act on behalf of a larger number of other persons or groups’ (Bochel et al 2000: 7). It is a state of affairs in which some members of a group stand for and/or act for others who authorise them (Pitkin 1967:38). Pitkin relates representation to leadership and argues that representatives whether they stand for or act for others are certainly leaders of those they represent; the former being rulers and the latter the ruled/followers (ibid: 108).

Representation is one way of promoting democratic governance. Individual representatives are designated as agents to make decisions and run affairs on behalf of the rest. This implies that representatives ‘take place of’ or ‘are present instead of’ others and that those who are represented should have control over the decision-makers who act in their stead (Beetham 1996: 30).

Many writers have different views on what representation is. Massoi (2003:22) presents three of the views of representation as: a) Representation as being related to *authorisation* and *accountability* which is a formalistic view linked to Thomas Hobbes (1928) works; b) Descriptive representation related to *standing for*, *resembling* or being *symbolic*; c) Representation as ‘*acting for others*’.

Although representation as a whole encompasses the above three views, women representation on which my study focuses is more related to the second view of representation – descriptive representation – in which women are selected to stand for their fellow women of whom they share characteristics. It is intended to increase quantitative numbers of women in political arenas so as to narrow the long-standing gender gaps and attain parity.

2.1.1.1 The Meaning of Descriptive representation

If a representative has to stand for, resemble, or be a symbol of these being represented, then he/she must mirror the image of the represented. This is what writers like Pitkin (1967), Phillips (1995), and Bochel et al (2000) have referred to as proportional or characteristic representation. True representation requires a representative body selected in such a way that its composition corresponds accurately to that of the whole nation (Pitkin 1967:60). A representative government requires a legislature that *mirrors* the nation or public opinion and it should mean “accurate reflection of the community or of general opinion of the nation or of the variety of interest in the society” (pp 61).

According to Bochel et al, ‘representatives should be drawn from the group they are elected to represent and share its characteristics’ (Bochel et al 2000: 8). Such

characteristics can be gender, religion, ethnic grouping, social class, age and to Bochel these should be in numbers proportional to the general population (ibid). Proportional representation attempts to “secure a representative assembly reflecting with more or less mathematical exactness the various divisions of the electorate” (Pitkin 1967:61) and should therefore correspond to the composition of the community as per the population characteristics.

John Burnheim (1985 cited Phillips 1995: 2) stresses that interests of the represented are better protected by those who share their experiences and interests. Phillips observes that choosing representatives on the basis of their beliefs and opinions enables people with money or those who access the media to get elected. She argues; ‘This is not necessarily the best way to protect minority interests, nor does it particularly encourage citizens to deliberate on political affairs’ (Phillips 1995: 3). Moreover as she further observes, most voters know too little about the candidates to make their personal attributes a basis for political choice (pp1). She therefore advocates for proportionate representation and power sharing between the competing and exclusionary groups (such as women and ethnic groups) as a matter of pragmatic necessity (pp 22).

Women, under descriptive representation are able to represent better their fellow women interests since they share their characteristics. Ideally, women representatives should mirror their fellow women in terms of opinions and interests. It is believed for instance that women contribute to the formulation of woman-friendly policies more effectively than men (Razavi 2000: viii). Razavi’s critical argument however is that women are a diverse group comprising different social classes (ibid). Karl also holds a similar observation and argues that ‘women are not a homogeneous mass and the way they are affected varies greatly depending on their diverse situations including their age, nationality, ethnic identity, class and income level and many other particulars’ (Karl 1995:12). These diversities not only significantly affect women political opportunities but also their nature of political participation and with such differences, women representatives cannot totally mirror the real characteristics of those represented unless there are institutional mechanisms for ensuring political accountability equal representation of each women category’s interests (Razavi 2000: viii).

Some other critical scholarly writers of descriptive representation argue that purposive political recruitment manifested in form of gender quotas (or other forms of social representation) promotes social divisiveness and sectional narrowing. They stress that gender quotas deny equal chance of men and women to compete for available political opportunities and they advocate selection of representatives on merit than by gender (Phillips 1995:60). One feminist has for instance argued;

While I respect the feminist's stand I believe women have what it takes to be good managers or anything they set out to do. They do not need a sympathy vote, just a greater sense of assertiveness not to be like men, but women who do what they do in their own kind of way (The Monitor, August 04, 1998:15).

These views stress the shortcomings of descriptive representation. They however seem to overestimate women capabilities to compete with their male counterparts for power and they disregard the inherent women disadvantaged position in the society. I also realise that agitators for descriptive representation and their critics suffer from being single dimensional and I concur with Phillip's observation that such arguments are unrealistic for '... selection by merit and selection by ethnicity or gender are not such poles apart...' Phillip's argument is that there is no selection process that operates by single quantifiable scale and that the numbers are always moderated by additional criteria. This is to say that we will always find a merit as one element embedded within recruitment of a descriptive representation nature and the reverse is equally true. Those who recruit political leaders basing on merit often find it necessary to consider gender or minority groups for reasons of democratic governance.

Therefore, descriptive representation cannot be purely regarded as a quantitative political recruitment for there is always an underlying qualitative criterion that selectors normally apply. Arguments for descriptive representation (which is particularly concerned with numbers) are of course valid because it is argued that the larger the numbers, the more possibilities exist to make a difference (Karl 1995:1). Karl argues that it generally takes a critical mass of women to effect change and I believe that such change may alter the stereotype male political domination, reduce gender discrimination and further the opportunities for women political careers through formulation of gender friendly policy issues. Those who agitate for equal

gender competition need to admit that in the past politics was a field of men's monopoly and that as of now is still of little avail to women unless the basic nature of politics itself is made more compatible with those values and experiences unique to women (Karvonen and Selle 1995:3). We therefore need a mechanism that will ensure involvement of such politically marginalised groups such as women, increase their numbers until a time when they come to such a footing as their male counterparts for favourable competition.

In spite of its shortcomings, descriptive representation remains essential as far as women and other social groups are concerned. Women still share a multitude of characteristics and are knowledgeable about their fellow women issues compared to men. Descriptive notion of representation continues to win support of feminists who urge and campaign for fair representation of women in politics and it has been adapted as a way of attaining representative democracy and reducing gender parity in elected assemblies (Phillips 1995:7). Many countries for instance have adopted the quota systems in which women are granted special number of seats in the state legislatures and others in political parties. Nordic countries, German and Belgium in Europe; Argentina in Latin America; South Africa, Uganda and Eritrea in Africa; India and Nepal in Asia; are some of the countries that have effected the quota law.

(<http://www.cld.org/waw5.htm> on 03/11/2003). Other countries like Uganda have gone further to preserve seats for women in political leadership positions particularly in the local councils. The quota system move has gone a long way in improving women political participation.

To close the missing links in descriptive representation perhaps, there may be a necessity of integrating characteristic representation with other forms of representation such that the elected representatives have some elements of being proportional, but at the same time be *accountable* to those whom they *act for* or *who authorise* them to make decisions on their behalf so as to increase responsiveness to the demands of the represented (Pitkin 1967:113). A question of *what is represented* should also be considered so as to predetermine *who* has the abilities to present and discuss the electorates' policy issues. By so doing, the process will have preselected able candidates capable of competing favourably for political leadership positions.

2.1.3 Political Leadership

Leadership as a social science concept in itself is quite ambiguous. The act of leadership is unidentifiable in such a way that it has no physical manifestation. It is an abstraction, its meaning is socially constructed and it is definable in terms of other social science concepts such as power, influence, authority and control (Elgie 1995:2). Its ambiguity therefore makes it difficult for the users and more in particular if it is used to determine candidates appropriate to carry out leadership roles.

One definition of political leadership is that it is the power exercised by one or a few individuals to direct members of the nation towards action (Elgie 1995:3). This definition captures my attention because it has an element of *one or a few individuals* who are normally obtained from the rest of the citizens through a selection process. And since the selection of the few that lead others is a central feature of this study, I consider this definition to be of relevance and I adopt it in subsequent discussions.

Political leaders are “*the elect of the elect*” (Prewitt and Verba 1975:274). This in the Ugandan local government context implies that political leaders are those individuals who are selected from the representatives/councillors. Leadership in political context therefore can be looked at in terms of career progression: First, individuals are elected as representatives, and then they advance to the leadership level. Bochel et al point out, many councillors undergo some sort of career progression from backbench councillor to duties such as chairing committees or to more senior posts such as party group or council leader; and that it is not unusual for some councillors to use their local government political positions as starting points for a full-blooded political career including selection as parliamentary candidates. (Bochel et al 2000:76).

Selection of political leaders and their exercise of power are dependent on their personal attributes and institutional structures. Many scholarly writers argue that individual abilities, personal traits, ambitions and motivations enable their self-selection or selection by others. On the other hand however, institutions equally play another major role in determining the resources, laws and procedures, historical legacy, societal attitudes and power distribution all of which are essential in

determining selection of leaders or the nature of political leadership exercised (Elgie 1995; also see Schlesinger 1966; Prewitt 1970; March and Olsen 1989). The institutional factors constitute environmental factors which may reinforce or counteract the functioning of personal attributes in the political leadership processes (Elgie 1995:23).

According to Schlesinger, a political system reinforces itself through its process of leadership selection which must produce men capable of making the political system work and of guaranteeing its adoptability to meet the problems of the society. His view is that the process of leadership selection should produce men skilled in the tasks which will face them when in office (Schlesinger 1966 pp: 211).

Bochel et al (2000:20) observes that councils are responsible for making policies and implementing legislation and policies of their own and those from central government. To ensure that statutory duties of the local authority are fulfilled, leaders should be able to wield significant power and exert considerable influence over their areas of responsibility (pp 21). Frazer's (2002) idea is that political recruitment should aim at obtaining leaders capable of unifying people and their aims towards the achievement of the political goals as well as those focussed on principles of justice and legitimacy. Similar to Max Weber's (1947) hierarchical, charismatic and legal rational forms of leadership authority, Frazer identifies different models of leadership as: *leadership from the top*, *leadership from the front* and *leadership from the middle*⁹. Her argument is that a combination of leadership from the front and leadership from the middle is the most ideal for democratic societies because they embrace democratic principles of popular sovereignty, responsiveness and representative governance. We all agree that political offices are a property of the polity and are continuous. Political leaders come and go but the offices and the systems remain. To ensure their sustainability we need leaders who are accountable, open, with good interpersonal skills capable of maintaining teamwork and networking ready to ensure popular participation of all citizens and responsiveness to their electorates' interests.

⁹ Frazer's models of leadership include: leadership *from the top* that depends on status and personal qualities; leadership *from the front* based on the leader's inspiration and exemplary; and leadership *from the middle* based on cooperation, networking, negotiation, equality in participation and sharing of burdens and rewards.

Principles of descriptive representation however, place the issues of individual capabilities in the background. Its forefront is tainted with the numbers and the actual presence of representatives from specific social groups. Instead, representatives are selected to represent interests of their groups with which they share characteristics. Their selection is highly dependent on the existing institutional structures (that determine who, how, how many, which opportunities are available) and individual attributes appear as a secondary issue. The nature of recruitment being discussed in this study is where political leaders are selected from the representatives – the councillors. They remain representatives for their constituencies but acquire additional roles related to council leadership duties. Their selection therefore needs to be more intentional and the selection criteria should encompass individual abilities for their better performance.

All the above said, we still remain with a paradox of the issues about representation and political leadership. Representatives must mirror the characteristics of the people represented but at the same time they need to possess some abilities for carrying out higher political duties if they are to be selected at a leadership level. Since they form eligible pool for the political leaders' selection, representatives need to be viewed beyond the numerical numbers (quantity) to encompass their quality too. In other words the selection mechanisms should enable the selectors to obtain leaders who are atypical of their social origins but with abilities to qualify them as leaders. A woman representative should for instance possess an educational background and some knowledge to enable her deliberate policy issues. Within the existing institutional framework where council deliberations and important laws and guidelines are recorded in English, women who get to councils basically because they are women will always find it a challenge for further recruitment within the councils. Higher in the political hierarchy questions of *what is* represented and *who is* represented may continue being debatable and challenging to selectors. Political leaders much as they cater for interests of their groups or constituencies are also responsible for taking decisions on other political issues and leadership roles (as earlier noted) and therefore shoulder much more responsibilities than being mere representatives.

2.2 Obstacles to women political participation and representation.

Many writers have noted that women often find it very difficult to win elective offices and that this is why they are poorly represented in the ranks of power and decision-making. Karl (1995:6) observes that women are far from attaining political and managerial equity. To Karl, women are considered as mentally crippled to be able to undertake leadership positions and if they do they still fail to win faith of both male and female counterparts.

Women under-representation is a cross-cutting issue for all nations. Uganda studies show that women continue to be grossly underrepresented in crucial decision making, policy formulation and implementation in political arenas including local Governments. According to the 1998 national statistics, despite the numerical strength of women in total population (51:49), overall proportion of women in public arenas between 1994 and 1998 comprised of the following: 7/47 Women Cabinet Ministers, 51/266 Parliamentarians, 60/213 Top Civil service, 16/51 Judicially and 12/105 Local authorities, (Nassali 2000: 10). Nassali attributes this situation to factors of economic backwardness, social and political oppression, and continued cultural subjugation of women by men. Cultural norms, values and customs that include patrilineal inheritance and property ownership; and religious practices and teachings among other factors have created long standing imbalances of male superiority and female inferiority which have infiltrated all spheres of life including the political involvement (Bainomugisha 1999:100).

In Latin America, Craske observes that women's political participation exclusion is a big challenge to democracy. She asserts that "although Latin American political exclusion has been generalised, women have been absent from political participation to a greater degree than men" (Craske 1999:3) and sees such a condition as being largely due to *authoritarian political systems* which have discouraged popular participation, and *masculinity tendencies* of the region that decreed politics as part of a man's world, thus an inappropriate activity for women. With the exception Argentina where the passing of the quota law (in 1991) has increased remarkably women participation from 5% in that year to 27% in 1997, the majority of Latin

American countries, have had average female representation not exceeding 10 per cent in the national congresses (Craske 1999: 63).

Studies from Eastern European countries indicate women underrepresentation in the ranks of elected officials on local governments in various countries and show that men still dominate Municipal Councils in numbers and council debates. The studies show over 25 percent women representation in UK and just over 10 percent in Northern Ireland as female local councillors in 1992; only 23 per cent in Scotland by 1996/7; 32.5 per cent in Norway and 21.7 percent in France in 1995 (Goldsmith 2000:15). Bristow (1980) attributes such underrepresentation to social class factors like *affluence* and *conservatism*. Hills (1983) on the other hand suggests that life-style factors including family roles such as marriage, child birth, domestic and family needs limit women involvement in political activities (Bochel et al 2000: 38).

Thomas's (1998) study of the women in American politics also indicate that 'despite the gains made by women over the course of history, women continue to be vastly underrepresented in elective office for their proportion of population' (pp: 3). She establishes a number of obstacles for women running for public offices as: *electoral structure, the social eligibility pool, socialisation effects, media coverage of candidates, and the strength of incumbency* (Thomas 1998:4).

Bochel et al (2000) argue that problems of women underrepresentation in local and national politics emanate from the discrimination on the part of electors and selectors, failure on the part of women to select themselves for election as well as the barriers that discourage women from standing. They point out that women underrepresentation is as a result of *voter bias, failure of women to support their fellow women, and little resources* at women exposure (Bochel et al 2000: 37).

Karvonen and Selle (1995) view women in Nordic politics as being highly marginalised in political arenas because politics has been seen as a less relevant area for women than men by the fact that political agenda and processes reflect men's values and interests. They point out two types of marginalisation for women in politics: *Vertical* and *horizontal* division of labour where by "vertical marginalisation is concerned with the position of men and women in *political hierarchies* and

horizontal division of labour focuses on the various policy areas in which men and women work” (pp:29). They observe that women have been vertically marginalised and their numbers in representation have been decreasing as one progress upwards in the political hierarchies (Ibid). This makes Karvonen and Selle’s findings of great relevancy to this study that is concerned with women political careers. Since Karvonen and Selle mention of vertical and horizontal marginalisation, is the women political problem more at the top or at the bottom of the hierarchies? Or is the marginalisation more manifested across various sectors, within each sector or there is no difference?

2.2.1 Gender and the horizontal division of labour politics.

The horizontal division of labour mentioned above focuses on the predominance of women in certain sectors than others. Karvonen and Selle argue that women tend to dominate in the reproductive sectors like education, health and social policy where as men take up productive sectors. They refer to women sectors as “soft” sectors with *weak values* and those for men as “hard” sectors and they regard the whole process as *functional marginalisation* (Karvonen and Selle 1995:31).

Phillips (1995), Thomas (1998) and Craske (1999) hold a similar view. They observe that women are over represented in some bodies and not others. Craske notes that women are over represented in bodies which deal with social issues and under represented in those dealing with economy or foreign affairs often seen as ‘hard subjects’ (Craske, 1999: 68). At the leadership level Thomas has argues that, ‘as leaders of the legislative committees, women tend to be overrepresented on the *traditional care* committees of human services, health, education, and children issues’ (Thomas 1998: 181). Phillips also affirms the existence of functional marginalisation and argues that male and female politicians often reveal a distinctly gendered distribution of political interests with women expressing their concerns about education, welfare, or the environment and men staking their claim to the economy, industry energy and foreign affairs (Phillips in King and Stoker 1996: 112). She regards the sexual division of labour as “inequitable and unnatural”, and as a big

obstacle to gender parity and women active engagement in conventional politics (Phillips 1995:63).

In Ugandan politics, is there a manifestation of sexual division of labour? To what extent are gender roles distinctions reflected in different local governments in sectors? Do selection processes reflect special preferences of women or men in particular sectors? We may analyse this from the Uganda Parliamentary Committees and Local councils Committees composition, since it has been argued that women political problem cross cuts national-local levels.

2.3 Women Representation in the Uganda's Seventh Parliament

The current Uganda's Seventh Parliament, as per Article 78(1) of the 1995 Constitution, comprises of 305 members constituted as follows:

- a) 214 Constituency Representatives
- b) 56 District Woman Representatives
- c) 10 Uganda People's Defence Forces Representatives
- d) 5 Representatives of the Youth
- e) 5 Representatives of Persons with Disabilities
- f) 5 Representatives of Workers
- g) 10 Ex-officio Members

(http://www.parliament.go.ug/index_composition.htm on 06/12/2003).

The information obtained from the above web however provides a list of only 285 parliamentarians of whom 67 are female legislators. Whether the controversy is due to erroneous recording or unfilled stipulated positions remains a fact yet to be established. What is clear is that the composition is atypical of descriptive representation described earlier as it comprises of representatives for social groups such as army, youth, workers, and persons with disabilities although the majority of the members are directly elected to represent constituencies.

(<http://www.idea.int/quota/displayCountry.cfm?CountryCode=UG> on 08/12/2003).

For the efficient discharge of its functions, the house has four types of committees which include: *the Standing committees, the Sessional committees, Adhoc committees and Select committee*. Of these committees, the 7th Parliament has appointed 12 Standing Committees and established 10 Sessional Committees (<http://www.parliament.go.ug/committee.htm#Standing> 06/12/2003). The summary of the political leadership of these committees is given in the table below:

Table 1 Uganda's 7th Parliament committee leadership as of Dec 2003

Committee	Political position	Male	Female	Sub Total
Standing Committees	Chairperson	7	2	9
	Vice Chairperson	5	4	9
Sessional Committees	Chairperson	8	2	10
	Vice Chairperson	6	4	10
Total		26	12	38

Source: Formulated from the information obtained from the webpage (<http://www.parliament.go.ug/committee.htm#Standing> on 06/12/2003)

The above table shows the composition of the House committee leaders of the Seventh (7th) Parliament of Uganda. The two main forms of Committees are the Standing Committees (12 in number)¹⁰ and Sessional Committees numbering ten. From the Table, it is observed that only 12 (32%) out of 38 committee leaders are female. Also out of 19 Chairpersons, only 4 (21%) are female while out of 19 vice chairpersons, 8 (42%) are female. This implies that the committees consist of about *one third* female leaders most of whom (67%) hold Vice Chairperson positions and compared to their total number in the parliament (67) only 18% of women legislators are leaders.

Within the Standing Committees, the two women chairpersons head *Government Assurances committee* and *Budget committee*. Among the Sessional committees, the two women leaders are chairpersons of *Social service committee* and *Public Service*

¹⁰ Only *nine* out of *twelve* standing committees have been indicated in the data because the composition of the rest three was not obtained.

and Local Government Committee. Looking at other forms of committees it is realised that committees like National Economy Committee, Public Accounts Committee, Works and Housing Committee, Finance and Planning Committee, Tourism and Industry are headed by males (both chairperson and vice chairpersons are males). It is also noted that no committee is chaired by a female and deputised by another female although there are a number of them headed and deputised by males. Whether this phenomenon is intentional or by coincidence remains an outstanding question.

From the outlook, the Ugandan current parliamentary leadership has some manifestations of Karvonen and Selle hierarchical and horizontal functional marginalisation as there are few women leaders compared to their total number in parliament and men leadership is predominantly concentrated in the fields classified as “hard sectors” (Karvonen and Selle 1995: 31). Is this the same trend of local politics? Are men still pre-eminent by numbers and in particular sectors within the local government political leadership? What do the existing studies say about women participation in local politics?

2.4 Women and local politics

Decentralisation and sexual equality are related in such a way that women have shown special affinity with local governments or local democracy than they do with central politics (Phillips 1996: 111). Hollis (1989 cited in Bochel et al 2000) established that women have done better in local governments than parliamentary politics for reasons such as accessibility, less competition and more political opportunities for women contestants and women policy issues (pp: 33). Phillips shares a similar view. She argues that part-time work of being a councillor and the roles of Local governments are some factors that encourage more women local participation (Phillips in King and Stoker 1996: 112). Phillips observes for instance that local councils have come to simulate government responsibility of what was previously provided by women inside the home, citing activities that relate to children’s needs like education; and that local governments have assumed responsibility for many of the routine social services for the elderly and the sick; which activities, resemble what might have previously been provided by women in the extended family (pp: 114).

The argument above partly explains why women have of recent engaged more in politics at local levels. With affirmative action and the quota system women representatives in local councils in Uganda have increased tremendously as compared to years before the introduction of these policies. Every local government council currently consists of at least one third women representatives and every executive committee comprise of at least one female (The LGA 1997 Sec 11, 17& 24). Ahikire (2001:17) observes however that, compared to South Africa where women representation is based on party politics, Uganda's non-party technicalities create a practically inhibiting environment that limits women to minor positions of local governments. She cites the former Minister of Local Government, Hon. Bidandi Ssali as having asserted that 'despite increased participation of women, they had not got into positions that can increase their capacity to influence policy' (ibid). A table of the 1998 local elected positions confirms this (See table 2 below).

Nassali holds a similar view. She argues that women participation in the local councils has not enhanced their political advancement and that only a few manage to graduate to the general leadership positions after a term of office in political representation (Nassali 2000:37). Ahikire (2001:18) contends on low women advancement in local councils and observes that most powerful positions in local governments such as LCV chairperson are occupied by males.

Statistics obtained from the Uganda Local Authorities Association 2003 support arguments about women underrepresentation in the Uganda's local authorities. The report shows that local governments presently comprise of 388 executive members from 54 Uganda districts¹¹. The total number of females is 109 representing 28%. The statistics indicate that out of 54 district local council *chairpersons* there is only 1 female (2%) and 18 (33%) occupy positions of *vice chairpersons*. Of the 54 council *speakers* only 6 are women (11%) while 30 women (55%) are deputy speakers (refer to table 3 below).

¹¹ The statistics of 2 districts of Kotido and Pader were omitted from the report and this is why the report analyses 54 out of 56 districts of Uganda.

Table 2 Political Leadership in Uganda Local Governments in 1998

Elected position	No. of Councils	Male	Female	% Female
LC5 Chairperson	45	45	0	0
LC5 Vice Chairperson	45	5	40	89
Mayors	14	14	0	0
LC3 Chairperson	860	841	9	1

Source Bidandi Ssali (1998 cited in Ahikire 2001:18)

Table 3 Women Representation in 4 local council's key positions in 2003

<u>(N=216)</u>			
Position	Male	Female	% Female
LC5 Chairperson	53	1	2
LC5 Vice Chairperson	36	18	33
Speaker	48	6	11
Deputy Speaker	24	30	55
Total	161	55	

Source: Uganda Local Authorities Association 2003 Report

Table 2 and 3 present data of some key political leaders in two consecutive local government councils' terms in Uganda (1998-2001; 2002-2006). The first table present holders of district and Municipal Chairs and the chairs for Sub-county/town councils. The second one presents district council chairs, Speakers and their vices.

The above tables present figures that are congruent to my earlier arguments about male domination of political leadership positions. In both tables it is evident that there is a feminisation of the 'deputy role'. Table 2 for instance shows 89% women deputy chairpersons, 100% male LC5 Chairperson and Mayors; and in table 3 the biggest percentages of women are indicated in the posts of Vice chairperson and deputy speaker. At the lowest local government (LC3) women leaders occupy 1% of the 860 local councils.

The shortcoming with these tables however is that as mentioned in chapter 1, the records obtained are not comprehensive as they do not indicate the total number of women within these councils. The percentages of women leaders indicated are calculated basing on the total number of leadership positions. The deductions made therefore may be less accurate than if the percentages of women in leadership positions were obtained based on the total women in these legislatures.

Considering the proportions in the leadership positions presented above, to what extent can we say that measures for increasing women political participation have increased gender parity in the dispersed political power of autonomous local institutions? Can we argue that local politics have favoured women and increased their political leadership opportunities? Do we hope to attain in the near future gender political equality within our Ugandan highly entrenched patriarchal tendency societies in which gender role distinctions are still manifested? The current situation certainly calls for further measures of reducing functional marginalisation to enable women get involved in competitive politics and fulfil their political careers.

2.5 Theories for recruitment of political office holders

Societies are large entities that must have smaller groups or individuals to act on their behalf. The smaller group (leaders) are the authorities, the governors with a role to regulate behaviour of the rest of the group and commit resources for the proper functioning of the entire entity (Prewitt 1970:4). To obtain the smaller group, the community has to undergo a selection process. This process is generic in nature because as Prewitt notes, it has repeated itself throughout history in virtually all the societies (ibid).

There are many theories that have been advanced to explain how individuals move into the positions of political authority and leadership. Leaders of various organisations are selected on the basis of: *Biological reproduction; cooptation and appointment; Selection by Rote and lot; Purchase of office; Forcible appropriation; Apprenticeship and examination*; and last but not least through *Election* (Suzanne Keller 1963 cited in Prewitt 1970:5). Each of these selection criteria originate from an individual or is determined by the organisational structural processes. This makes

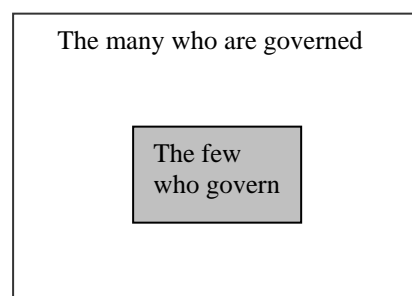
political recruitment a function of *individuals and/or structure*. These two determinants explain the *supply* and *demand* of candidates for political offices. Either way what matters is that finally a few are selected to rule the many irrespective of whether a leader comes due to self-selection or as selection by the system or even whether the few chosen to govern are the most desirable by the ruled.

Of the Keller's leadership selection classifications mentioned above, formally the most common used one in the field of my study is the Election criteria. This process aims at obtaining a few members from a large heterogeneous group (the general population and preselected councillors) to represent or lead others. Leaders or representatives are normally obtained through competitive elections of candidates although a few exceptional cases (such as some local council Executive Committee members) are designated by law to be selected through direct nominations (LGA Sec 17). Prewitt's model of leadership selection relates to this form of selection criteria and is thus adopted for further discussion of the political recruitment process.

2.5.1 Prewitt's Model for Political Leadership Recruitment

Prewitt (1970:6) formulated a framework for studying leadership selection. In his simple framework, he presents the governed population as a large entity represented by an outer box within which there is an in-box (relatively small) representing the governing few. The implication is that the governors are always few and originate from the governed.

Figure 1: The governed and the governors

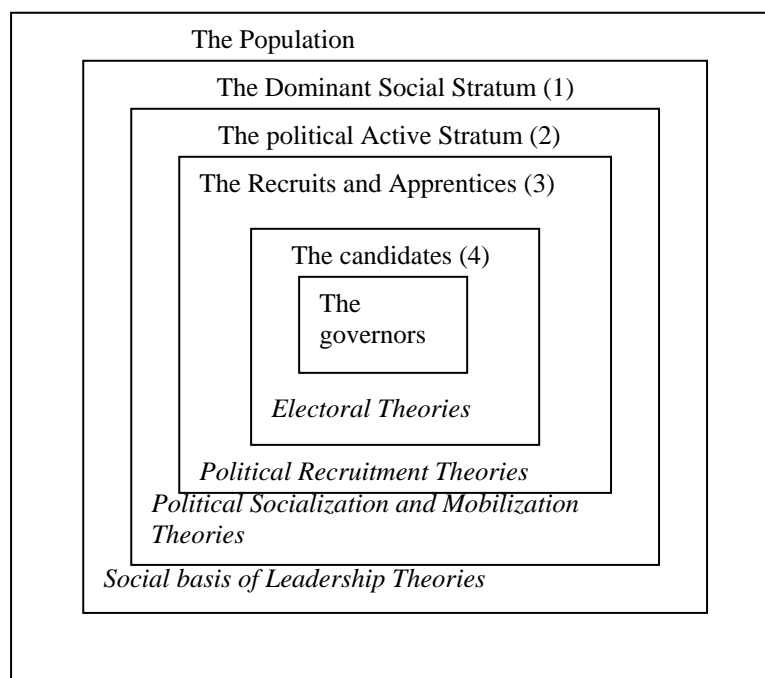


Source: Adopted from Prewitt 1970:6

If we took this illustration as an analogy of our local government under the study, the governed would imply the citizens and the governors would stand for the council. But this leaves us with another category that has been generalised – the core leadership group which would form a third inner box. If on the other hand we regarded the governors as the council leadership then it would create a missing link between the leaders and the population.

This therefore calls for a more elaborate illustration, which Prewitt presents in his complex model of leadership recruitment in the Chinese Box Puzzle (Prewitt 1970: pp.8) that is simplified in Prewitt and Verba (1975:117). Holding the view that “the few govern many”, Prewitt attempts to analyse factors behind who moves into and out of top political cycles and how. The box puzzle is illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 2: Chinese Box Puzzle



Source: Adopted from Prewitt 1970:8

This is a more detailed model that suggests the processes undertaken to obtain governors from the general citizenry and theories related thereto. It shows the gradual

narrowing of the entire population from bigger strata to smaller ones in form of boxes, the smallest of all representing the finally selected leadership.

The Box puzzle, similar to the one modified and presented by Prewitt and Verba (1975), has different sized boxes ranging from the biggest to the smallest designed in such a way so as to fit in each. The largest box contains all the other boxes. To discover the smallest box one must open the whole series of boxes between it and the larger one. If the largest box is taken as the entire population and the smallest one as the leadership group, then according to Prewitt and Verba, the remaining boxes would represent narrowing recruitment pool that supply from the larger to the smaller. Recruitment therefore is regarded as a gradual but continual process of selection and elimination that narrows the large population to the few who hold the highest position (Prewitt and Verba 1975:117).

Prewitt's political recruitment model is typical of the recruitment processes in local government in Uganda. It shows the criteria and process that political candidates follow during their recruitment to leadership positions beginning from the time they are mere citizens to the time they become leaders. The recruitment process narrows down the population into councillors from whom the political leaders are chosen. Legal qualifications, social eligibility, political activism, and candidacy are some of the common criteria for leadership selection in the local councils. And although there are numerable factors underlying this recruitment process in these councils, categorically they fit into the broad classification of Prewitt's leadership recruitment theories.

2.5.1.1 Social basis of Leadership Theories

The sociological view of leadership recruitment bases on social stratification systems as determinants of the candidates who vie for political offices. The sociological traditionalists stress that societies are divided into social and economic class structures regulated by a complex web of interpersonal relationship and norms (Prewitt 1990; Prewitt and Verba 1975; Kornberg et al 1979; Fowler 1993). Even the early Sociologists like Weber, Michels, Mosca and Pareto realised that society is

hierarchically ordered with elites holding the top positions of power (Fowler 1993:43).

Prewitt notes that office holders tend to be drawn in disproportionate amounts from the dominant socioeconomic strata (Prewitt 1970 pp: 9); where by the strata may comprise of the elites, the wealthy, the working class and other privileged social groups. He argues that a man's occupation, wealth and education affect whether he becomes a member of the politically active stratum and whether he is likely to hold a political office (pp 25). Thomas (1998) holds a similar view. Referring to recruitment of political office holders in the American government she notes that citizens' choices of quality candidates base on occupational backgrounds, military service, education accomplishments, type and number of previous electoral experiences (Thomas, 1998:4). Within the British councils, Bristow (1980) associates representation with affluence and conservatism and argues that the rich and the more conservative areas elected more women to local councils than other areas.(Bristow 1980 cited in Bochel et al 2000:38).

Prewitt and Verba (1975) re-affirm the importance of sociological determinants of recruitment. They stress that 'although there are no written rules specifying who is socially eligible, there is evidence that a large percentage of our political leaders are drawn from particular social groups within the population' (pp 118). To them, access to political office and its privileges is based on social classes. They regard leaders as not a representative sample of the population but rather being atypical in their social origins, in their educational attainment, and in the occupations they held before reaching political office' (ibid). As Donald Matthews (cited in Prewitt 1970:8) asserts, 'Stratification analysis suggests the probability that the political life-chances of those with high social status will be considerably better than those with average or low prestige'. To Kornberg et al, social values of those with higher social economic origins and current status in part determine opportunities for the dominant social stratum and offer them higher chances of political life (Kornberg et al 1979: 40).

Fowler and Prewitt note that social classes determine the eligible candidates for political power because they create homogeneous motives for office seekers and determine abilities to pursue political careers (Fowler 1993:45 also see Prewitt

1970:9). To look at social determinism as a basis for leadership selection in the contemporary politics may seem to be an overestimation of issues. We need to remember that we are currently working in a framework of the constitutional regimes of egalitarian nature. Social determinism is intended to limit power to a few where as contemporary politics calls for dispersion of power to reduce inequalities in the society so as to ensure democracy. The elites' view has also been highly contested by critics of the elite theory who refute that political power is highly stratified and argue that elites' stratum is in itself a heterogeneous group made of small number of like-minded people bounded by commonality interests (Judge, D et al 1995:5). Moreover Prewitt at a later stage realises that ones social status may indicate his chances of success if he seeks office but not his will to choose the political vacation. He also notes that upper status groups are not necessarily exclusive contributors to political leadership class (Prewitt 1970:9), a tenet from which he sets to discuss other theoretical perspectives of leadership recruitment.

Nevertheless, sociological factors still play a big role in the political leaders' recruitment process. By the nature of their roles leaders need background experiences and education qualifications. Their family backgrounds and social status may be of some importance for the purposes of prior socialisation into the current and future political careers. Above all these factors offer a criterion for narrowing down the recruitment pool, which is a necessary mechanism in the selection process.

In the Uganda's case, some political leaders can be said to access power through their social backgrounds as those identified above. Selection of individual candidate as representatives or as political leaders in most cases takes into account candidates' curriculum vitae. The 'gatekeepers' at times prefer selecting those who have held such positions before. In other instances, individual candidates are selected to head certain political positions in which they have basic educational qualifications or occupational experiences. A former teacher will be preferred to head education committee or an accountant a finance committee. Similarly rich candidates will stand a better chance than the poor because they can afford payment of nomination fees, meet expenses of canvassing of votes, making campaign publications or contributing to various community projects all of which earn them more votes from the selectors.

The social basis of leadership theories are therefore not mythical but a reality in the Ugandan contemporary politics.

2.5.1.2 Political Socialisation and Mobilisation Theories

The political Socialisation and Mobilisation theories are meant to explain the politically involved and active stratum of the society; which stratum contains individuals with high social status selected from the dominant Social stratum by Social basis leadership theories. This stratum comprises of citizens who: vote, follow political happenings in the media, interact and contact fellow citizens on political matters, campaign or contribute money to their respective parties, and those who have continuing interest in the political matters (Prewitt 1970:53). The stratum therefore consists of potential candidates who may be called upon or may come up to contest for political offices at higher levels.

Socialisation to participate in politics revolves largely upon informal agents such as family, peer and friendship groups (Kornberg et al 1979). Kornberg and his colleagues believe that political officials socialised by such agents may either be very interested or active in politics and public affairs. They may be willing to participate beyond mere voting. Such agents normally politically mobilise these individuals to become more active in politics by urging them to get involved so as to improve the existing state of affairs.

Political careers and ambitions are therefore highly influenced by social experiences that individuals obtain from social institutions like families, schools and workplaces and an individual's level of political activity depends on social composition of the community or institution in which an individual is socialised and mobilised (Prewitt 1970; also see Kornberg et al, 1979). Kornberg et al (1979) note that 'As children or adolescents, individuals come into contact with a variety of other people who either are interested or are actively involved in political life' (pp 44). These may be parents, peers, workmates or other political activists. Prewitt's similar view is that a protracted nature of career may begin from a politically active family through school politics to early adult involvement and finally into elected politics (pp 59).

Prewitt's political career theories show a life path of a continuous active politician but this presupposition may be surpassed by the fact that not all the active politicians have a long path political career. Some individuals may acquire interest after a couple of years of involvement in public affairs while others take it as a sudden decision at a certain point in time. Secondly, this Prewitt's theory also assumes that individuals acquire political inspiration from within the group or the institution they belong. However, other similar theories such as Schlesinger's Ambition theory, Group theory and Anticipatory socialisation hypotheses indicate that individual behaviour, aspirations and future expectations are determined by anticipated roles (Prewitt 1970:190), and as such individual political career may be seen as an outcome of office goals, personal traits, preferences and abilities. "It is where the politician is going (would like to be going) which affects his behaviour, not where he is or where he has been" (Schlesinger cited in Prewitt 1970:190). And to Merton, the individual's adaptation of values of the group which he aspires to belong may aid his rise into that group and ease his adjustment after he has become part of it (Ibid). Prewitt's political socialisation and mobilisation theories therefore may serve as one but not the only explanation for those who become politically active.

Social Institutions are known to have formal and informal internal regulatory and control systems that programme their members to fit in the structured environments. Depending on the nature of the institutions and their cultures, the control systems determine which of their members becomes active and those who become passive and at times this is mentally programmed into individuals' minds. Basing on the formal and informal rules, members of such institutions tend to follow the *logic of appropriateness* and their actions and behaviour are more intentional than wilful (March and Olsen 1989:23). People tend to think and act according to how the world ought to be – *the desirable*, versus what people want themselves – *the desired*.

On the contrary however, we know that in some instances, individual behaviours are driven by their preferences and expectations through the *logic of consequentiality*. Under such circumstances people are said to be driven by calculated self-interest and making choices of their own preferences (March and Olsen 1960:160). Fowler, under the Rational Actor Tradition for instance regards decisions for candidates to run for an office as a relatively straight forward calculation of costs and benefits discounted by

perceived probability of winning (Fowler 1993:60). Looking at candidacy as one way of being politically active, and considering the logic of consequentiality as a factor influencing political activity, then socialisation and mobilisation may be but a small fraction determining political recruitment. Or else to what extent can we attribute individual choices and preferences to be determined by their past socialisation and mobilisation experiences? May they not be as a result of own personal traits, ambitions or motivations as stressed by the psychological tradition (See Fowler 1993:49)? Can we have no political activists in the absence of political socialisation and mobilisation?

If we may find a circumstance where we can do without the above mentioned social institutions influencing individual behaviour, I am convinced that it would be possible still for some individuals to become politically active. But since these institutions are in existence and almost everybody has to go through them, then it sounds reasonable to argue that social and political mobilisation has a big influence on the political actives. I therefore agree with Kornberg et al assertion that recruitment to active political roles is a complex process in which both social structural and political socialisation factors play a significant role (Kornberg et al 1979:53). This is not to say that personal traits, desires and needs are disregarded but to stress that socialisation experiences act as *political stimuli* that may spread positive effects to individuals and build their political ambitions. The more one gets exposed to political activities the more likely he may be involved. Prewitt notes however that the exposure level to 'political stimuli' depends on ones location in the network of social-political relationships, a reason why some individuals with similar backgrounds, education, or occupational experiences get more exposed while others do not (Prewitt 1970:10).

2.5.1.3 Political Recruitment Theories

Political recruitment theories attempt to explain two basic issues: 'how the politically ambitious focus on particular offices and how the political institutions fill the many posts that keep the institutions operating' (Prewitt 1970: 11; also see Fowler 1993:55). The theories explain processes through which individual political aspirations and talents are channelled and mobilised to public offices. Institutions are seen as central

features in the recruitment process responsible for specifying numbers, the nature of political offices and the legal criteria for filling them. Individuals on the other hand aim at fulfilling their political ambitions and obtaining the legally stipulated political posts through the generally accepted procedures.

Political recruitment theories therefore, related to Fowler's Process traditionalist's approach, explain how individuals compete for power through adaptation and manipulation of the game. They explain how political participants "go there, where they came from and by what paths and hence what ideas and skills and contacts they acquired or discarded on the way" (Dwayne Marvick 1976 cited in Fowler 1993:55). This view fits well in Prewitt's political recruitment theories where recruitment is seen as a process that legitimates claims to political offices.

Previously legitimated rules therefore serve as one determinant of the political selection procedures as well as ascribing legitimacy to political office holders. Rules are part and parcel of any political system (multi or single party). They are formal or informal organisational routines, procedures, conventions, roles, strategies, organisational forms and technologies on which political activity is constructed. They are regarded as beliefs, paradigms, codes, cultures and knowledge relating to roles and routines and they determine terms of relationships between roles and situations (March and Olsen 1989:22; also see Egeberg and Lægreid 2002).

Institutional processes are regulated by a web of the standard formal rules as well as less formal and less obvious ways (norms) of doing things. Governments' formal rules such as constitutions, Acts, Decrees, and Standing Orders define actual means and ends of the existing institutions. They are essential in political recruitment because they specify the actual number of offices to be filled, the processes to fill them as well as responsibilities for those positions. They determine electoral areas, numbers and nature of representatives. They normally stipulate minimum requirements for office holding such as age, race, education level or necessary skills (Prewitt 1970:16). According to Prewitt, laws (or the Legal Code as Prewitt refers to it) and norms are some institutional variables that determine leadership selection. Though non-prescribed, norms are more or less institutionalised features of the

recruitment process that are taken for granted and that fill in spaces where the formal laws seem to be silent (ibid).

Within the political recruitment theories, one other gateway to political office is through *Apprenticeship*. Political structures (such as parties or other political organisations) mobilise individuals' talents, train, and prepare them for elevated political offices that are legitimised by political institutions. Individuals who get involved in apprenticeship (actively supporting peoples' candidacies, acting as campaign managers, serving on party structures or campaign committees in different capacities or working as local council leaders in the decentralised systems) have more chances of being selected for leadership because it equips them with skills, experience and knowledge. Apprenticeship at the institutional level helps to narrow down further the eligible pool for leadership. As Prewitt argues, apprenticeship is useful criterion for identifying persons that may contend for political offices and it reduces "in-role socialisation" task since several individuals get trained in the apprenticeship process. It therefore serves as one informal mechanism of channelling individual ambitions and aspirations as well as providing a less formal criterion for selection between contenders (Prewitt 1970:13).

Political recruitment theories however seem not to be far different from what political mobilisation theories agitate and the apprentices and political recruits tend to overlap with the political active stratum. Apprenticeship makes individuals more active in political affairs and in some way enhances their political ambitions and careers and so are the recruits. They become mobilised and politicised in the social-political institutions they fall. The processes they undergo and the activities they carry out as apprentices or recruits qualify them as political activists. In my view therefore, the explanation for Prewitt's box 2 and 3 (refer to the model) in some way overlap. The political recruitment theories would perhaps be fit to explain the *legally qualified* stratum given in the Prewitt's and Verba's (1975) recruitment criteria.

In spite of these shortfalls however, Prewitt's Political recruitment theories offer ways of obtaining Recruits and Apprentices from a much bigger Politically Active Stratum and helps in narrowing the recruitment pool to a smaller size from which candidates originate. The theories stress the importance formal institutions that define selection

processes and informal institutions that influence individual psychological responses towards politics.

2.5.1.4 Electoral Theories

Electoral theories are meant to explain the final selection of political leaders. According to Prewitt (1970), 'Elections and the activities surrounding them operate as the final screening-sorting device' (pp 13). They translate personal ambitions into victories or disappointments and they determine who ought to occupy or vacate the government chairs (ibid). Through elections, a few governors are democratically selected to occupy government political offices and as Prewitt argues elections serve as a mechanism that makes democracy democratic in a way that 'Men will compete; the voters will choose; and democratic government will be assured' (pp 14). It is seen as a way of controlling *who* gains office and hence it is intended to enhance political accountability and responsiveness.

Schlesinger (1966) however argues that elections could serve as controls of behaviour of public officials only if politicians had a strong motivation to seek and retain elective office (Fowler 1993:56 also see Prewitt 1970:210). This argument stems from Fowler's psychological tradition which examines the motivations behind political behaviour and the impact of personality traits on the individual action. I agree with this view because in this sense, would we find elections purposeful if individuals were less interested in competing for political power or if incumbents had short-lived political career plans? Or to what extent can elections determine the incumbent's future behaviour?

Prewitt realises the electoral theories' loophole. He notes that critics of the electoral theories established that psychological reasons affect voters selection choices; that individual talent and virtue may determine their careers in non political spheres; and that structural arrangements may be politically manipulated for personal gains (pp 14). This observation affirms that the key element behind elections and accountability as Schlesinger argues therefore should be individual's political ambition, of which at the back of it all lays an inspiring structure of political opportunity for the candidates

(Fowler 1993:56). Prewitt and Verba (1975) also recognise that the final selection depends on self-assertiveness, personal abilities and /or through the influence of those already in the powerful positions (Prewitt and Verba 1975:120).

We can not therefore attribute the election of political leaders to electoral theories alone. The electoral theories nevertheless define a process through which the recruits and apprentices become serious contenders for top leadership positions (candidates). They give us a criterion of obtaining a narrower eligible pool from which the leaders are selected.

2.5.2 Prewitt's model overview

The Prewitt's model gives us a clear process through which aspiring candidates for political offices go through from the general population to leadership level. The Chinese box puzzle analogy gives us an idea of the continuous narrowing process of the contestants that at the end leaves us with a few selected governors and as Fowler observes, Prewitt's analysis provides us with a rich overview of the kinds of behaviour that surround candidacy (Fowler 1993:56).

However, the categorisation of the strata from one another and attribution of specific theories to each of them is an over assumption that there are clear demarcations in the society. By the fact that Prewitt does not indicate the relationship between the theories, this implies that each of them works independently which is very unlikely in the complex recruitment process which embraces both individual variables and institutional parameters.

As earlier noted, some of these theories overlap in the selection of different political strata and some characteristics of individuals in one stratum do not differ from those in another. For instance the political actives are always found at every level including in the general population. Fowler analysed the model as offering less explanation about the recruitment process, being more of the diagram and suitable as a classification scheme than a theory.

CHAPTER THREE: A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE CONTEMPORARY UGANDA

3.0 Introduction

The undisputed fact with disputable explanations is that in contemporary organisations men dominate in managerial circles. Thomas (2003) observes that men tend to be overrepresented in management occupations and to predominate at most senior levels (pp 144). According to Thomas, two schools of thought used to explain this state of affairs are the evolutionary and social construction perspectives. The evolutionary perspective emphasise male-female biological constitutions, their human nature that gives them traits, temperaments and style of action. Biologically the evolutionary school of thought claims that men are programmed to be naturally aggressive, tough, competitive and risk-taking while women are placid, modest, tender, collaborative and risk- avoiding (Thomas 2003; also see Hofstede 1991).

The construction perspective on the other hand looks at men and women behaviour and attitudes as social artefacts obtained through socialisation. 'Men and women', social constructionists observe, '*learn* how to think, feel and act as males or females according to their rules and expectations which prevail in the society' (Thomas 2003:145). Similarly, Hofstede (1991:5) attributes gender behaviour to *culture* – the collective programming of the mind. Cultural socialization and education and its values, beliefs, norms, rationalisations, symbols and ideologies (mental products or a mental software as per Hofstede) create stereotyped behaviour on individual thinking, acting and feeling and this may be negated from generation to generation (Hofstede 1991:5 also see Thompson et al 1990:1).

This study is not intended to resolve on which thought is correct or wrong but to find out reasons why women have come to be more oriented to the private sphere and men to the public sphere and why leadership and authority have been conceptualised as a preserve of men in our societies. Is it their natural attributes or it is the effect of social institutions that women have lagged behind in the political field?

To understand the current status of women in political leadership in Uganda, this chapter traces the women political developments from the pre-colonial era, through the colonial period to the post colonial regimes. It shows the way historical social-cultural values of African patriarchal societies has affected women political involvement in these eras. At the end of the chapter, we see the break-through of women towards political participation by reflecting on the measures put in place to regulate social barriers and enhance women political participation in the recent years.

3.1 Women Status in a Socio-Political History of Uganda

The current position of women in politics in Uganda can be traced back from the historical perspective. In spite of their important role in the society their participation has been underrated by the *private- public* cultural divide of the gender roles in which men dominated positions of political economic and social power while women were confined to domestic reproductive duties (Tamale 1997:28). A household was (and still is in most instances) often the main place where women participate. Women's primary responsibility is concerned with their families' health, food, water and fuel and as Karl argues their work is not only unpaid, but largely unrecognizable (Karl 1995:3). Their contribution has as a result remained insignificant and has continuously limited their participation in the 'outside' world (Karl 1995; Tamale 1997; Ahikire 2001; Nassali 2000).

Historically, politics have been identified with the masculine principle and as Molyneux (1986 cited in Ahikire 2001:11) asserts, politics more than any other realm, has remained largely a monopoly of men because of its condensation of power and authority. In the African social setting, Nassali observes, "The way the family operates is partly a consequence of the husbands' power to define the wife's situations" (Nassali 2000:9). This masculine principle emanates from the pre-colonial entities in which both men and women wielded power at different points, a tradition that was transformed into separate public-private spheres of men and women respectively through the colonial and post colonial periods (Byanyima 1992; also see Tamale 1997).

This distinction created a situation in which men would always support and maintain their wives and families according to patriarchal ideology. It enhanced “male dominance” and “female dependency” syndrome which for time long has prevailed in most of our societies. Neither the post colonial state nor the society discarded the patriarchal traditions, and as such the struggles for women political liberations without tackling issues of family and other related social institutions have not eradicated the gender political imbalances (Ahikire 2001:12).

The public-private historical gender role distinctions have not only been limited to gender social relations but also have been adapted in our current political systems. It has led to functional marginalization of women in contemporary politics in which women prefer (or are selected for) political responsibilities (like leadership) in the *soft* reproductive sectors such as education and social welfare while men take responsibilities of the *hard* sectors like industry and economy noted by Karvonen and Selle (1995).

In this way, we can realise that low political participation of women at all levels of political structures is not a new phenomenon. The account of women status in three main eras of social-political development in Uganda beginning from the pre-colonial to the post colonial/post independence period is therefore of importance as far as this study is concerned.

3.1.1 The Pre-colonial woman

Like their counterparts else where in Africa, Uganda’s women have been subjected to a long history of oppression and discrimination from pre-colonial times to date. Social systems and family structures influence a total way of life of women. Uganda’s pre-colonial era women were culturally socialized and meant to believe that their roles were entirely concerned with reproductive and domestic productivity and these customs have since been highly institutionalized in the family, religion, workplaces and politics like their Tanzania counterparts (Massoi 2003:37). Massoi argues that most such customs discriminated against women and relegated them to an inferior status and that the socialization process of girls in these institutions right from

childhood groom them to maintain the status quo of male-female distinctive roles (pp: 38).

Women in pre-colonial times were socialized to depend and respect their elders, brothers and fathers and husbands when married. Men were taken as bread earners, and heads of households and women were believed to be less intelligent and mentally crippled who could not think independently (Mukangara and Koda cited in Massoi 2003:79). Mukangara and Koda's observation is common in our society, where when one does or says something that is under-rated; he/she is regarded as '*acting like a woman*' which emphasises the view of mental crippledness of women. The kind of socialisation African women got was meant to confine them to the 'mental, economic and political crippledness' and keep them playing a fiddle role in which they not only owned no property but were as well owned and considered as part of men's property which they could dispense with (The Monitor, June 28, 2000). A woman's independence was disputable because she was acquired by man as wife in the same way the man acquires other property (through such practices such as payment of bride-price) and once married she dropped her name and adopted her husband's (The Monitor, March 26, 1998). Could such traditions and nature of socialisation groom women to think "outside the box" so as to turn into future political activists?

It therefore goes without saying that traditional customary and cultural practices of the patriarchal pre-colonial societies left no chance for women to go public let alone having recognition of their societal contribution. Women confinement in the private sphere has transpired from generation to generation; from the pre-colonial through the colonial and post colonial Uganda¹² and can still be envisaged in the present politics.

3.1.2 Colonial and Post-colonial eras

The colonial period was not any different from the pre-colonial one. The era saw men maintain pre-colonial frameworks of political authority. The British (colonial masters)

¹² Colonial period in Uganda is the time from when Uganda became a British protectorate (1894) to the time of independence (1962) and the period there after is what i refer to as post colonial. Pre-colonial period falls before 1894.

legal system conspired with the traditional social systems to continuously lower the status of women and ridicule them.

<http://www.antenna.nl/news/gen/women/mn00015.html> on 04/12/200.

The era served to empower men as political administrators and engaged them in wage employment in a capitalistic economy such as growing cash crops for which they were paid. Women on the other hand remained subordinated to unpaid reproductive and household labour mainly occupied by food crops cultivation (Tamale 1997:34). These arrangements were upheld by the British structures and policies during their time of occupation. Women were therefore sandwiched between the traditional domination and colonial gender neglect which completely shadowed their enormous efforts and support rallied behind the male political, public and economic activities.

The post colonial era too differs less from the periods aforementioned. The post independent Uganda had in place social-political structures such as religion (Christianity), education and law systems that favoured men advancement in political careers. These structures maintained the old ideology of male dominance in both the social political strata as well as in the consciousness of the independent Ugandans.

Karl (1995) realises that traditions appeals as well as religion practices and beliefs sometimes tend to justify women discriminatory practices (pp: 12). The Christian religion of the 'Western' Missionaries stressed women humbleness, submissiveness and commitment to their husbands according to the Bible scriptures. Such attributes prepared women to be more active in the private life by being less assertive, less decisive and less aggressive. It groomed them to fit in the existing traditional patriarchal setting and provided them with minimal exposure for being future political activists.

Colonial education policy was equally a potent factor that adversely affected women position in Uganda and Africa as a whole. The education opportunities were disproportionately provided to males and men education was accorded priority and opportunities than that of women. The family environment in which girls were involved in 'womanly' household activities such as cooking, fetching water/firewood or looking after their young ones, left them with less time and chances to attend to

schoolwork. Also, education provided in Girls Missionary schools was primarily geared towards providing men with good wives and house makers with subjects like Domestic Science, House wifely and Hygiene (Staudt 1981; Tamale and Oloka-Onyango 1992, 1996; Musisi 1992 cited in Tamale 1997:38).

The neglect of women consideration for involvement in the public spheres during the above periods however does not mean that women never contributed to the political activities. Tamale, argues that women participation in the unpaid productive and reproductive labour provided a great subsidy in the society and the capitalist economy. The unpaid productivity provided indirect domestic labour that contributed to household income, food stuffs and the like while the reproductive labour provided the daily regeneration of wage and non wage labour force that was essential to back public activities from time to time (Tamale 1997:35). Without such indirect input, men's participation in the public spheres would have perhaps been minimal.

Women, inspite of the traditional neglect in the public life never entirely sat back to watch indefinitely the trend of events. By and large, women started rallying together to challenge the structures of domination. In 1947 for instance they were able to form a Uganda Council of Women as an Organization to fight for women's rights which marked a watershed for women movements in Uganda. In 1955, the first woman (Pulma Kisosonkole), was elected as the first woman member of the Legislative Council – Legco (Nassali 2000: 4), and by the time Uganda attained independence in 1962, *five* women had ever been members of the Legco¹³ (Tamale 1997:36). Although this number is small, it was a great achievement for women and it could have worked as an inspiration for women political participation in the future Uganda.

Uganda women however remained excluded from participation in politics as leaders, and faced marginalization from the electoral process as voters. Nassali observes for instance that women were denied a right to vote in the 1957 Legco elections under franchise restrictions concerning ownership of property, income and work pre-qualifications (Nassali 2000: 5). Since Uganda pre-colonial and colonial women, by their confinement in the private sphere owned none of these, they were automatically

¹³ The five mentioned women legislators include Pumla Kisosonkole, Joyce Mpanga, Sarah Ntiro, Frances Akello and Eseza Makumbi.

disqualified from voter registers and therefore women political leadership was out of question in these two eras. It is recognised that women in the politics of these eras never surfaced as leaders and were not elected but nominated (The monitor June 28, 2000); which suggests that they were regarded as unequal to men and as incapable of attaining power through their own abilities.

3.2 Women in 1960's to mid 80's Uganda politics.

The period between the declaration of an independent Uganda and the National Resistance Movement regime of 1986 has less history on women political involvement as it was mainly characterized by political turmoil and maladministration of several regimes. There were only three general elections during this period; in 1961, 1962 and 1980 which according to Kabwegyere (1989:41) were neither free nor fair. To stress his point, Kabwegyere refers to the 1980 elections as 'a mockery to democracy' (ibid). Nassali's observation about women participation in this era's politics is that women provided nothing more than "political capital" of voting and their active participation in the electoral process was singing and campaigning for male candidates. To her, 'they did not participate in the process as subjects; instead they were mere objects' (Nassali 2000:5). Women's fiddle role thus was not only played in the social sphere but is also seen here being translated to the political sphere as well.

During this period, it is noted that only *two* out of *Ninety two* members of the post independence legislature (from 1962-71) were female, and women political position was further crippled in 1973 when the then president Idi Amin banned women's organizations (Tamale 1997:43), which would probably have brought more women into political limelight. Two other women¹⁴ entered the House in 1979 interim legislature and in 1980 general election *five* women¹⁵ competed for political power but only one of them, Theresa Odongo-Oduka was elected to parliament (Tamale 1999 cited in Nassali 2000:6; also see Tamale 1997: 45).

¹⁴ Rhoda Kalema and Namirembe Bitamazire were the two women members of the National Consultative Council of 1979

¹⁵ Women Candidates in 1980 elections include Cecilia Ogwal, Rhoda Kalema, Freda Lule, Robinah Kasadha and Theresa Odongo-Oduka.

Needless to mention here is that we are seeing the development of women from the private sphere into political participation however small it is. As Tamale observes, it is a view of the 'hens beginning to crow'. This is a great step towards women political participation in the subsequent political regimes as we shall see later. The experiences gained by women who were involved in the past politics not only helped them to build their political careers and prepare them for political competition in the next elections but also it inspired other women to join politics at various levels. Nevertheless the account of the few women access to politics in the colonial and post colonial era mentions no women in the political leadership capacity. Unless this is an oversight of the writers, the implication is that women were never involved in political leadership until the National Resistance Movement era.

3.3 Women under the National Resistance Movement (NRM)

Women political participation in Uganda took a new trend from the time the National Resistance Movement came into power in January 1986. Tamale's account of this period points out various measures that NRM put in place to democratize Uganda as well as improve women participation (Tamale 1997:3). First, Resistance Councils (RCs) were created in which women were accorded mandatory seats right from the grassroots to the National Resistance Councils (NRC). The NRC comprised of 270 Parliamentarians of whom 34 (12.6%) were District Women Representatives in 1989. (<http://www.parliament.go.ug/history.htm> on 05/12 2003, also see Kabwegyere 1999:42). According to Kabwegyere, the participation of the formally untapped women and youth force under the RC system was initially a matter of course but with time they have become more visibly in political affairs including leadership positions especially at Local Council III and Local council V (Kabwegyere 1999: 48).

The Uganda Government since the NRM inception of power made a lot of efforts and commitment to uplift the status of women and improve their participation in the political process and decision making from village to district level. The NRM government emphasized the importance of gender equality as one way of democratising Uganda. It established Resistance Councils (RCs) right from the grass root up to the National level in which women were accorded mandatory seats. NRM Secretariat was put in place comprising of a Directorate of women affairs for purposes

of women mobilization to be more involved in the political affairs. The regime further introduced a Ministry of Women in Development, Youth and Culture, a Directorate of Women Affairs and the Affirmative Action (extra 1.5 points) for female students enrolling in government Universities (Tamale, 1997:3). And currently the education affirmative action policy is being revised to encompass other institutions of learning – business, technical and vocational institutions (<http://www.newvision.co.ug> of 27/11/2003).

It is during this same regime that the 1995 Constitution was promulgated. The Constitution among other issues emphasizes gender balance and fair representation of the marginalised groups, recognition of role of women in society, equality and freedom from discrimination and assures Affirmative Action in favour of the marginalised groups (Chapter 4 of the constitution; also see FOWODE 2000:7) ¹⁶. The same Constitution gives birth to The Local Governments Act 1997 that provides for and promotes women participation in the established local councils under Uganda's decentralised system of governance.

The Movement government system must be loudly lauded for the positive measures taken towards gender balance and women empowerment. It is true that these measures were put in place as a means of democratizing the political system. Women status would not be improved without catering for their social welfare. Similarly, having been much oriented to private life, unless women are well mobilized their political involvement would continuously remain minimal. The Affirmative Action in girls' education would enable women with high education to be more involved in political, social and economic spheres, participate in policy making and implementation processes which would bring about development. Women education matters as far as political participation is concerned (see Karl 1995:10). Unless one is educated, it is not easy to break through the social cultural barriers earlier mentioned. It also becomes hard for a political representative who is not educated to analyse and discuss political issues as required. Above all these it is difficult for an uneducated

¹⁶ Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE) is a women Organisation in Uganda and the citation is from its Publication of a study conducted in 2000 in preparation for Second National Leadership Conference held in Uganda in that year.

representative to be selected as a political leader for leadership requires much more capabilities than mere representation.

One can not rule out however the intention of using some of these measures as a strategy for political leaders of the time to win more support and fulfil their individual political ambitions. It is one of Tripp's observations that "Some feel that the pro-women stance of Museveni's Movement is not genuine and that it has been adopted largely to curry favour with women voters" (Tripp 2002:8). If not so, to what extent can we say such measures have enhanced women political participation so far? Are highly educated women more selected for political representation and leadership positions than the less educated? If there has been an improvement of women status in the society as per the intention of setting the Ministry of gender, has such status enabled more women to be selected for political offices? If the answer to these questions is 'no' then can we say that the objective of democratization of Uganda government has been achieved when we still have a lot of gender inequalities in the system?

3.3.1 Decentralisation and women participation

Decentralisation as an outcome of the RC system was intended to promote democracy and good governance. This policy which was launched in October 1992 was aimed at transferring more power to the people so as to bring the administrative and political control over services in the districts. In 1993, a Resistance Councils Statute was promulgated. The statute put in place a legal framework and institutionalised the local government units set up and functions. The enactment of the 1995 constitution and the Local governments Act, 1997 paved way for full implementation of the decentralisation policy (Villadsen and Lubanga 1996:50; also see Nsibambi 1998).

Within the local government system women were accorded at least *one third seats* in local councils as we shall see in the next chapter. This has relatively increased their numbers as political representatives. However this measure never eliminated the past barriers of women full participation in politics inspite of the constitution provisions to safeguard rights and interests of women. As Ahikire (2001) observes, under the

decentralized system, women in Local Councils are still subjected to traditional cultural notions of womanhood and in several instances, selection processes are influenced by social factors such as women family backgrounds where a subservient woman, married and with children is regarded as a proper candidate for political representation or leadership.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE CURRENT INSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL STRUCTURES GOVERNING THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS IN UGANDA

4.0 Introduction

Governments have political institutions. These institutions can be described in terms of laws, and rules on which political actors base their actions. Institutions have duties and roles which actors perform either by calculated self interest or by identifying and following the normative appropriate behaviour of these institutions. In the latter case, the actors follow existing routines, procedures, organizational strategies, conventions, and roles on which political activity is constructed instead of the calculated expected outcomes of the alternative choices taken. Individual actors become obligatory followers of the rules than depending on their own self determined decisions (March and Olsen 1989:23). For this reason they at times end up acting because ‘they have to’ but not necessarily that ‘they want to’ or are ‘able to’.

This chapter presents the structure of the local governments right from local council one (the lowest council unit) to local council five (the highest local government). It presents composition of the councils and the leadership positions and functions. The chapter also gives the current legal framework that governs local governments. It discusses the existing laws/rules for selection of political candidates in these local governments with particular emphasis on the political leaders. The discussion will examine whether the existing laws enable more women political leaders or representatives within local government structures. It will feature whether leadership selection is taken as an obligation, a duty, a practice, a routine or it is understood as being of necessity and of great impotence so as to be done with an intentional purpose. Do individual politicians view the polity as an arena of competition of rival interests or they believe that society processes are inequable for some individuals and that without protection by political institutions some social groups can never hold power? Do local government structures have a big impact on women political leadership ambitions and careers? Does decentralisation and the resulting local government system favour women political participation and representation political leadership?

4.1 Local Governments in Uganda.

Uganda consists of 56 districts each of which qualifying as a district local Government with varying number and size of lower local governments. These district local governments commonly known as Local Council V are shown in the map below.

Figure 3: Map of Uganda Showing District Local Government councils



Source: Website page http://www.molg.go.ug/local_govts/index.htm on 10/11/2003

4.1.1 The local governments council set up

The current local government/council system in Uganda, established by the constitution under Article 176(1), consists the district as a highest unit under which are lower local governments and administrative units.

<http://www.government.go.ug/constitution/detail.php?myId=11> on 05/11/03

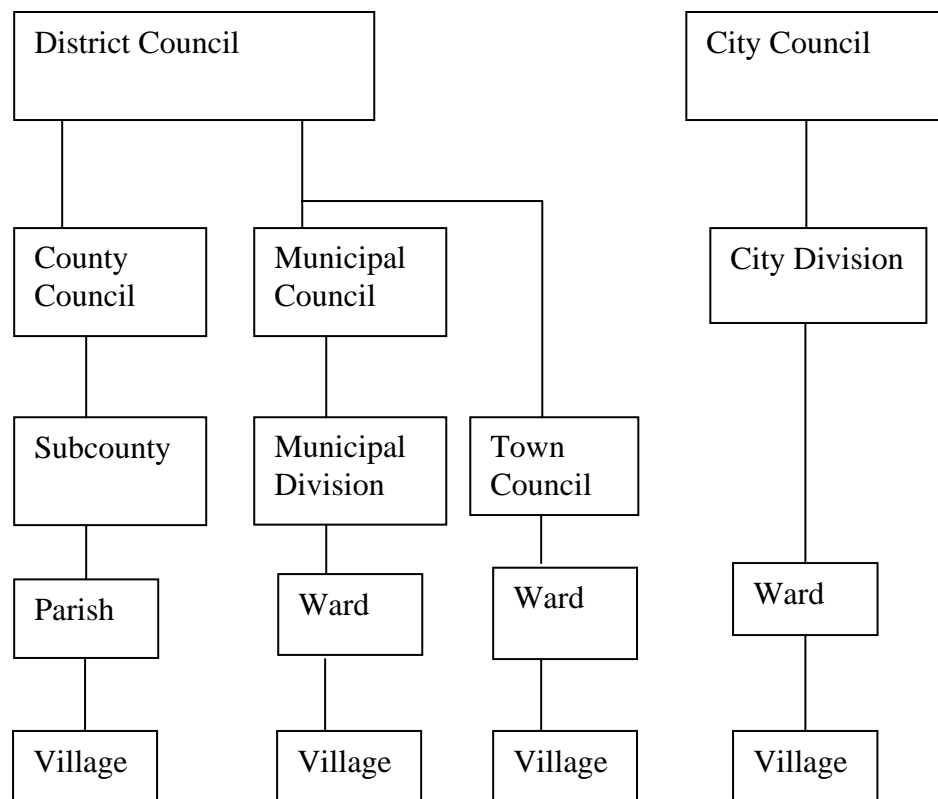
This Local council (LC) system is an outcome of the 1986 Resistance council (RC) system re-institutionalized and renamed by the 1995 Constitution. The system comprises of local governments classified according to rural and urban area that stretch from the village to the District. The structure of the local councils is made up of five tiers; local councils I, II, III, IV, and V¹⁷ with committees of leaders on each tier (Ahikire 2001:6).

The rural councils consist of the District Council and Sub-county councils. The urban councils in the city comprise of a City Council and City Division councils while the municipality comprises of the Municipal council and the Municipal Division councils. In the towns we have town councils. Further classification puts the city councils at the equivalency of district councils, and the city divisions at the same grade as a municipality. The municipal divisions and towns are equivalent to the sub counties. City and district councils are referred to as Local Council Five (LC V) and Municipal division, Town councils and sub counties are all regarded as *lower local government councils* (LGA, Sec 4, 5, 6; Amendment Act, 1997 Sec 4)

Between the LCV and LCIII is a *county council* (LCIV) that is an Administrative unit council while below the LCIII (sub counties, Municipal divisions and Town Councils), there is a *parish* (LCII) and a *village* (LCI) as Administrative Unit councils. These administrative unit councils are also based on rural and urban areas classification where by a rural area has a village, a parish and a county as LCI, LCII and LCIV respectively and an urban area comprising of a Parish / a Ward as LCII and a village as LCI (LGA , Sec 46).

¹⁷ LCI = Village; LCII = Parish/ Ward; LCIII = Sub-county, Town council, Municipal Division; LCIV = County Council, Municipal Council; City Division; LCV = District Council, City Council (see the local councils structure Figure).

Figure 4: Local Government Structure



Source: Adapted from the Uganda Electoral Commission Publications, 2003.

4.1.2 Composition of local government councils

The local government councils¹⁸ comprise of councillors who represent their electoral areas. These include: the council chairperson, women councillors, persons with disabilities (1 male and 1 female), youth councillors (1 male and 1 female) and other general councillors (among whom may be women). Women representatives/councillors form one third and the rest constitute the two thirds of each of these councils (LGA Sec 11 and 24).

These local governments have executive committees consisting of the chairperson, Vice chairperson and a number of secretaries of whom *atleast one must be a female* (LGA, Sec 26). The composition of Administrative Units on the other hand, save for

¹⁸ Local government councils include; District/City councils; Sub-county/ City Division Councils; Municipal councils, Municipal Division Councils and Town Councils (See LGA 1997:Sec 4)

the village councils, comprise of the executive committees of the lower councils. The village council is comprised of all persons of 18 years of age or above who reside in that particular village. The parish and the village administrative units consist of executive committees with 10 members each of whom atleast one third must be women (LGA, Sec 46, 47 and 48).

The composition of the councils presented above puts into account women representation at both levels; as councillors and as executive members following the *quota law*¹⁹. The law provides for a minimum of one third women representation at all levels which implies that women are free to run and compete for other general seats. But in real essence how many of them do actually stand as candidates for general seats?

The quota system critics have noted that the quota law has but achieved little in reducing male-female disparities in political positions. The stipulated percentages are taken as a top limit for women representatives in most cases. Women have continued to find it easier to compete with their fellow women for political positions than the general ones. Like quota law implementation at higher political representation levels, Ahikire (2001:8) observes that the reservation for women seats at local government level has been misunderstood in a way that women have to wait for their turn which has limited the numbers of those who run and win general seats. The redistributive politics approach has a limited value since our political institutions remain rooted within a patriarchal structure (Young 1990:200, Bacci 1990 cites in Tamale 1997:72).

Harding (1991) also criticizes the application of such affirmative action approaches to existing social and political structures without questioning their hierarchical and political regressive agendas. To Segers (1983) that affirmative Action of such nature like quota system is “a single policy...a lonely policy a voice in the wilderness which can achieve little without the support of the policies directed at reducing disparities in wealth, status and power” (Tamale 1997:73). The redistributive politics are geared towards increasing political participation but the latter cannot be viewed in isolation of the social-economic contexts because ways of participation are interrelated and

¹⁹ The Quota law in Uganda is 33%. It is stipulated by The 1995 Uganda Constitution and it is applicable at both local and national level

women socio, economic and political roles overlap and interact resulting into interconnecting patterns that often reinforce each other (Human Development Report 1993 cited in Karl 1995:2). This is why some woman-friendly policies have proved futile in attaining gender parity in the countries they have been undertaken.

4.1.3 Election Process for the Local Government councillors

The election of council members at each of the local council level is in such a way that LCI (Village) Committee members are elected by all village residents with 18 years and above. Village committees form LCII (Parish or Ward Council) from which a committee of 10 members is selected. From each Parish/Ward one councillor is elected by universal adult suffrage to LCIII (Sub-County, Division or Town Council). Youth Council at LCIII level elect one female and one male as councillors of LCIII council and the same happens to people with disabilities. Depending on the total number of councillors at LCIII and population quotas of LCII, women are accorded one third of the total council positions and are elected by Universal adult suffrage (LGA Sec 24; Tamale 1997; Nassali 2000)

Parallel to the current Local government council system, are the women and youth councils. These two councils are established under the National Women Councils Statute 3 of 1993, and National Youth Statute. The Women Councils according to the Statute aim at 1) organising Uganda women in a unified body; and 2) engaging the women in activities that are beneficial to them and the nation (National Women Statute 1993 Sec 4; also see Tamale 1997 and Nassali 2000:39).

Women councils at the village levels consist of every woman resident in the village from whom a committee is selected; at the Parish/Ward level they consist of members of village women council committees, and at Sub-County, Division or Town level they consist of all members of parish or ward committees. At the county level, women councils comprise of all members of sub county women committees from sub-counties within that particular county. The District level women councils consist of all members of County Women Committees. Each of these committees is composed of five women committee members (National Women Statute 1993; also see Training

manual for women councillors 2002 and Tamale 1997). The Youth Councils are formed in a similar manner and are equally intended for purposes of mobilising the youth for social-political activities.

The law provides that Chairpersons of women councils at village and parish level be Secretaries for Women and Public Health Coordinators in the Village/parish executive committees. Similarly, Chairpersons of Youth Councils at the Parish or Village level are Secretaries for Youth. There are also Organisations of persons with disabilities at each of these levels of which the chairpersons are Secretaries for Persons with Disabilities on the local councils. This means that the selection of such chairpersons automatically qualifies them to become members of local council at that level (LGA 1997 Sec 48 (2) h, i and j). With the exception of this linkage however, there is no other direct connection between the local government structure and Women and Youth councils.

The absence of Women and Youth councils' linkage with the local councils together with lack of specified duties and funding for these councils they have achieved far less than what had been intended since their inception. It can be noted that except for the mobilisation purposes to participate in elections at both local and national levels, these councils have been completely dormant. As a result they have served as mere electoral colleges for political candidates at higher levels and particularly Members of Parliaments. Tamale observes that apart from taking part in elections, women councils have been a limbo and in some parts were non existent until the time for elections (Tamale 1997: 96).

Nevertheless, women and youth councils cannot totally be disregarded because in a way they have enabled women who participate in them to gain experience and knowledge of some political matters. Related to Prewitt's (1970) political recruitment theories, it can be seen as a way of grooming some apprentices and the councils can act as a recruitment pool for women political representatives and leaders for local councils. They may also be seen as institutions for political mobilisation which enhances women interests and ambitions to become more active in politics as advanced in Prewitt's Political socialisation and mobilisation theories (ibid).

4.2. District Local Councils

As noted earlier, the district local council is the highest tier in the Uganda local government system. It is headed by the District Chairperson (or the Mayor in case of the City Council). The composition of the council other than the chairperson consist of: a) one councillor elected to represent an electoral area in the district; b) Two youth councillors representatives one of whom must be a female; c) two councillors with disabilities one of whom also must be a female; and d) women councillors forming one third of the total number of councillors to be selected by the mentioned criteria in (a), (b), (c) above (LGA Sec 11 and 12).

Within the council there occurs a selection of political leaders who consists of the Vice Chairperson/ Deputy Mayor (for city council), Council Secretaries, Speaker, Deputy Speaker, and chairpersons to the Standing Committees. The district chairperson/Mayor is the head of both the council and the leadership core. The Chairperson, the Vice chairperson and the secretaries form the Executive Committee.

This leadership core is the central feature of my study. The selection processes of its members from the rest of the councillors and the position of women who get selected as political leaders in these councils are my major focus. It is worthy noting that political leaders have legal specific functions they ought to perform. What are these functions and what implication do they have on leadership selection? Does the law for selection of political leaders put into account their roles and responsibilities? To what extent have the legal structures improved the selection of women for political leadership positions in these local governments? Does leadership selection matter whether it is an urban council or a rural council? Let us examine political leaders' roles and the legal structures that govern political recruitment in local councils in Uganda currently.

4.3 Functions of local government political leaders

Leadership is an essential element in every organization. Virtually every organization has leaders of one form or another who are the occupants of the topmost positions of organizational authority. These are key actors upon whom decisions and behaviour of

organizations performance depend. Leaders have authority and power to influence and control. They can make or break the organization depending on their abilities to exercise the power and authority at their disposal (Thomas 1993:110).

Councils on the other hand do exist for legislation formulation and policy implementation executive functions. Councillors take a responsibility of ensuring that statutory duties of the local authorities are fulfilled (Bochel et al 2000:20), and the committee chairs play an important role in agenda setting and liaising with other chief officers of the council (pp 22). Those who occupy such positions therefore wield significant power and normally are in position to exert influence over their area of responsibility. Does political recruitment for local government political leaders consider council roles and responsibilities before hand and relate the individual abilities to utilise the power and authority that go with these political positions?

Roles and responsibilities (often referred to as functions) of local government leaders are distinct according to each of the positions as per the law. The LCV chairperson is an overall overseer of the district general administration and policy formulation and implementation processes. He/she is charged with monitoring and coordinating activities of lower local councils and between the district and the central government. The executive committee of which he is the head is responsible for policy initiation and formulation, monitoring the implementation of the local council programs, evaluating the council program performance and pre-selection of members to be appointed on statutory district Boards, Commissions, and committees. The council speaker presides over council meetings and is responsible for the rules of Procedure for district councils. The speaker and the chairperson have deputies who carry out their roles in their absence. Different council standing committees are responsible for reviewing Sectoral plans and budgets, and to monitor the performance of their respective sectors. They may also review bills for ordinance and motions and make recommendation to councils. These committees have chairpersons who preside over their meetings and coordinate their activities (LGA Sec12, 13, 18 also see District Council rules and procedures, 1998).

What one deduces from the stipulated roles and responsibilities of the local government political leadership is that the nature of the given functions for each post

implies a basic requirement to do with individual capabilities (intelligence, knowledge, experience, and to some extent personality). By the fact that there is a basic element of policy formulation, review and implementation cross-cutting all these positions, there is a need to select leaders who can read and internalize the existing laws and analyse situations. They should be able to assess and evaluate the district plans and programs, point out the successes and failures, identify causes of the shortfalls if any and suggest possible remedies to improve district performance.

To chair a council or committee meetings one must possess ability to control the members and the direction of events or proceedings. Those who deputise need to be of equivalent abilities to the chairs if they are to carry out their roles effectively. They must be knowledgeable so as to give a sense of direction to the council or committee members and reach appropriate decisions. They need to know how to exercise the authority and power of the positions they hold and should be able to influence the rest of the councillors basing on the knowledge, conviction and foreseen public gains from the issues being discussed. But how can the selectors of such leaders ensure that they obtain capable candidates to fill such leadership positions unless there is a clearly specified criterion? Can factors like education be underrated? Then what would be the purpose of a leader who cannot read, comprehend and interpret the existing laws (including council rules of procedure, the Acts, and the constitution), government plans or other guidelines for local councils considering the stipulated roles and duties of the incumbents of such positions?

The current local government leadership selection process lacks specific laws on minimum education qualification requirements for contestants to councillorship (save for the Chairpersons of the District Council). Lack of stipulated minimum qualifications is said to have brought on board political representatives from all walks of life, a factor that is seen as a determinant of women performance as political representatives and leaders. Ahikire in her study of women political effectiveness in local governments observes that in terms of actual participation in the District councils' deliberations, women are credited for 'retrieving what was discussed and agreed in the previous meeting' and 'giving a vote of thanks' (2001: 21-2). This is an indication that they are not knowledgeable on outstanding issues which could be

explained by women low levels of education and lack of experience in the political/public spheres.

Council proceedings by law must be recorded in English²⁰. This means that officially the deliberations should basically be in English and this is always so although the councils are allowed to resolve on debating in a vernacular language as they do at times. The implication here is that only those who have undergone formal education to a certain level will be eligible for these positions. It thus becomes difficult to have a council chairman, executive committee member or a committee chair that will not be able to conduct council business or express himself in English. And how many of those council members have this eligibility considering the fact that our literacy rates have been low until of recent when the Universal Primary Education Programme was introduced in Uganda (1997)? Moreover, although Universal education might seem a relatively straight forward goal, it has proven difficult to achieve. UNICEF children's reports 2003 show that despite thousands of successful projects in countries around the globe, gender parity in accessing school, successful achievement and completion are as elusive as ever and girls continue to systematically lose out on the benefits that education provides (<http://www.unicef.org/files/Chapter1.pdf> on 10/12/2003).

The Adult literacy programs that have been introduced by the government and NGOs of recent (like Literacy Aid Uganda and Functional Adult Literacy), may equally not be able to equip the learners with sufficient capabilities to address the issues regarding legislature debates and discussions.

The 1991 population and housing census for instance show that only 35 per cent of the estimated 22 million Ugandans could not read and write and women constituted 75 per cent of the illiterates by then.

<http://www.geocities.com/literacyaiduganda/demographics.html> on 30/10/03.

Surprisingly, this is the very population that we are looking at as a recruitment pool of the current local councils (those with 18 years of age and above). With the requirement of *a third* women representation in these councils, how many of the

²⁰ Procedure for council meetings is prescribed in the LGA 1997, Third schedule Section 10 (1) which reads; "The records of every meeting of a local government council shall be kept in English". Also see Rules of procedure for District councils 1998, Rule No.6.

women councillors would qualify to be selected and appointed in these leadership positions considering this illiteracy rate? How many of those women who make it to the councils have abilities to carry out functions of the political leaders specified above?

The above functions of the political leadership position are of great importance if local governments have to perform well and achieve their planned targets. The functions however need to be executed by capable leaders who should be obtained through a good selection procedure. The mentioned functions cannot be regarded as 'manly' or 'womanly' thus women selection for these positions should not be limited by the nature of the sectors available or the roles to play and this would minimise the issue of functional marginalization.

4.4 Electoral laws for councillors.

Legal procedures and regulations are essential tools for candidate nomination and selection. They provide a framework on which representatives as well as political leaders are recruited. Electoral laws have been seen as conditions that sieve women (and men) throughout processes of political representation and leadership.

The existing laws for Uganda local government council elections are enshrined in the Constitution and The LGA 1997. According to this law, any person of sound mind who is a Uganda citizen registered voter qualifies to be a local government councillor (Sec 117(1)). Such candidate however should not be employed by any local government and should not be involved in functions that are related to local council elections. Public officers, who get elected for council leadership positions (Chairperson, Speaker and deputy speaker or executive committee member), are required to resign their former offices (Sec 117(2, 3) also see Amendment Act Sec 40).

This clause eliminates a substantial number who would be highly qualified and able to vie for the leadership positions in these councils. Public servants, by their experience have professional backgrounds and knowledge of matters affecting local governments. Resigning from a job where one has been earning a living so as to join politics where there are meagre allowances and too much economic demands from the

electorates as well as the high uncertainty of maintaining the position seem to be a threat to capable candidates, both men and women. The few women who happen to occupy such public positions therefore dare less to run for political representation and leadership in these local councils.

Although they ideally represent their fellow women, women elections for these local councils are by universal adult suffrage (Sec 18(2)). As a whole, every sub-county or City Division is represented by one councillor. For women representation in these councils however, the representation is based on the population quotas determined by electoral commission to fill the *one third* council seats. This arrangement at times brings together one or more lower local councils as electoral areas for women (The LGA 1997 Sec110 and 111). The whole matter of representation then becomes a complex. Problems of accountability merge with area size. Ahikire (2001:16) notes that the merging of sub-counties (or lower councils) generates immense problems of women in the campaigns because women have to cover more distance canvassing for votes among the ‘materially expectant’ electorates. This strains women more than men by virtue of their low economic earnings and traditional domestic role demands. Is this not a big challenge that scares off some interested women in political representation at this level thus leaving out capable candidates for leadership? Similarly, do such structural arrangements not create problems of women representatives’ allegiance and accountability? Do they owe the allegiance and accountability to their fellow women or to the general public who select them? What difference does it make in the women selection at this level versus the rest of councillors? If the intention of women representation at this level is *standing* for women as *a social group* and not a wider constituency, then why not be elected by their fellow women as the law provided before?²¹

Economic constraints are also met in the preliminaries for candidates’ nomination in which a stipulated *non-refundable fee* should be paid to qualify for nomination²². Candidates are obliged to attend general candidates meetings organized within the

²¹ Women representatives used to be elected by women councils of lower levels until the LGA 1997 came into effect (see Sec118(2) of the Act)

²² The nomination fee for a District/City or Municipality councillor is two and a half a currency point (LGA Sec120(f)) and for the chairmen is Ten currency points and five currency points respectively. The current currency point is 50,000 Uganda Shillings.

electoral areas by the Returning Officer (Sec 123) before elections time. They need to publish campaign materials (books, booklets, pamphlets, magazines, posters and the like) intended to solicit votes (Sec 125(1)). All these have an implication of economic status of a contestant which disfavours some women that are not engaged in high or atleast medium income generating activities. And as Ahikire contends, although the economic factor affects poor men too, the nature of women elections exacerbates this problem (Ahikire 2001: 19).

The electoral law therefore is seen as having a big implication on who ascends to political power because it is one way that qualifies and disqualifies individual candidates. The local government electoral laws can be related to Prewitt's (1970) electoral theories that narrow down candidates to the governors.

4.5 Selection of Council Leaders.

I have explained above how the law provides for structures and requirements for council members. This is a crucial stage in determining eligible candidates for leadership recruitment from within the council. Prewitt and Verba (1975) have made a clear observation of this. They argue that in the process of recruitment, 'the selection of leaders begins long before the voting public gets into act.....the electorate chooses between candidates whom they have been "*preselected*" by a long process of sorting, picking and eliminating' (pp: 121). As their argument stands, the electorates do not choose leaders but the representatives they elect to the councils is the pool from which the leaders are chosen. If the candidates selected at this level do not measure for leadership qualities (as per the law or other factors for selection not stated by the law), then leadership recruitment would be quite difficult especially for women who have always been outside political circles.

There are two ways in which the local council leaders in Uganda are recruited from within the councils; *election and appointment*. The chairperson of the councils, the Speaker, Deputy Speaker and chairpersons of the Standing Committees are elected while the district Vice Chairperson and the Secretaries are appointed. The District Chairperson is selected by the public through the universal adult suffrage elections. The speaker and the deputy speaker are elected by all council members and to win

such a position a candidate must obtain more than 50% of the total cast votes (LGA Sec 12). Chairpersons of the committees are elected by the council's simple majority (Sec 23).

The leadership legal requirements qualifications for the chairperson local council V requires a chairperson of the council to be a resident of that district (or City Council), with atleast thirty years and not more than seventy five years old. He should qualify to be elected as a member of parliament which requires one to possess atleast an Advanced Certificate of education or equivalent qualification (LGA Sec 13; 112(3)). The vice chairperson should possess the same qualifications as the chairperson (Sec 19 (2)). The law however is silent on the rest of the leaders' qualifications.

The selection procedure is that the district Vice chairperson and the Secretaries on the other hand are nominated by the Chairperson from among members and are approved by the council members (Sec 19). The Speaker, the Deputy Speaker and Chairpersons of the Standing Committees are elected by fellow Councillors while the district Vice Chairperson and the Secretaries/Ministers are appointed the district Chairperson on the approval of the council (LGA Sec 12, 13 (2), 19 and 23(2)).

The criteria for filling the stipulated posts within local councils are not comprehensive. Apart from the minimum qualification of the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson of the district (LGA Sec 112(3) and 19(2)), the minimum percentage of the cast votes counts for the selection of the Committee Chairs (LGA Sec 23), the Speaker and Deputy Speaker (Rule No.8 of the District Council Rules of procedure, also see LGA Sec 12), while the *voice vote*²³ of the majority of the councils approve or disapprove appointment of Secretaries. In the absence of further criteria, selectors initiate and employ other means to fill existing posts.

Incomprehensive specified minimum qualification and procedure for political recruitment leaves a considerable ambiguity and manipulation possibilities to suit the selectors' interest. Some capable candidates for the political leadership may be left

²³ *Voice vote* is a way of resolving on issues raised in council meetings where consensus cannot be reached. In such a case, there is voting by voices of "Aye" or "No" and the highest voices determine the decision to be taken (Rule No.23 of the District Council Rules of procedure, 1998)

out and women are hit-hard due to gender bias of our masculine society. The “constitutive and symptomatic of the normative operations of patriarchy” described by Tamale (pp: 128) serve to perpetuate the women political situation and the women’s enmity tendency to their fellow women continue to be a big threat to their political advancement. Their selection to leadership positions remains somehow problematic in the presence of inadequate laws that streamline selection procedures to meet existing political opportunities.

CHAPTER 5: WOMEN LEADERSHIP SELECTION IN KCC AND BLG

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research findings of the study. It presents women numbers in the selected local government councils. It discusses factors that promote and those that hinder women political recruitment to leadership positions within the two local councils. Some of the factors presented are of sociological orientation while others are institutional in nature. Some originate from political structures while others are as a result of social-cultural influence.

5.1 Women representation in councils and leadership positions in BLG and KCC.

Chapter four presented District councils as comprising of: a district Chairperson, direct councillors, youth councillors, councillors with disabilities and women councillors who form one third total of the said categories (LGA Sec 11). An electoral area for the direct councillors is a sub-county in case of a district and a Ward in case of a city council while women councillors represent one or more sub-counties/wards depending on the population quota (LGA Sec 110 and 111) . The youth and the disabled have their own electoral colleges. The tables below show women numbers (councillors and leaders) in the two councils including the youth and disabled female representatives.

Table 3 Council Composition

Council	Male Councillors	Female Councillors	Total	Percentage of women
Bushenyi Local Government	31	19	50	38
Kampala City Council	17	14	31	45

Table 4: Women in Leadership Positions

Council	Male	Female	Total	Percentage
Bushenyi Local Government	10	4	14	28.5
Kampala City Council	7	7	14	50

Source: Formulated from field data

Table 3 shows that BLG council comprise 38% women while KCC comprise of 45% women. At the leadership level, BLG women occupy 28.5% positions (equivalent to 21% of the total women councillors) whereas in KCC male and female councillors share leadership positions equally at 50% each (see Table 4). KCC women leaders also comprise 50% of the total women councillors. The tables therefore portray that the percentage of women in leadership positions in BLG is less than the percentage in the council and the reverse is true with KCC. However, although the women percentages shown exceed one third of the total councillors and although in KCC women percentage is higher than that of BLG, the figures given indicate that women representatives are comparatively low than men in both councils. One other notable finding was that in each of the two councils, only one female councillor came on general elections ticket and surprisingly neither of them was among the leadership position.

5.2 Basic Factors for selection of council leaders

Local councils employ a number of mechanisms in recruitment of council leaders most of which are agreeable to Prewitt and Fowler's political recruitment perspectives. Leadership recruitment in these councils may be well understood by analysing both institutional and individual variables upon which the choices of the selectors and the selected stem. Existing laws, political structures (partisan or non-partisan), educational and occupational experiences, economic status, are but a few explicit factors that influence leadership selection whereas other implicit factors such as individual involvement in leisure time, community activities, previous electoral experiences, family background, cultural values, individual ego, political ambitions,

personal preferences and abilities and cost-benefit calculations are known to be of equal importance in determining who gets selected for which political position.

Table 5 : Basis for Council Leaders Selection in local councils

(N= 30)

Factor	No.of resp.	Percentage*
Education level	21	70%
Family backgrounds	13	43%
Economic/Financial background	24	80%
Merit/Personal abilities	17	56%
Religion	26	86%
Tribe	3	10%
Gender	30	100%
Regional balance	27	90%
Political affiliation	30	100%
Age	1	3%
Experience & Previous Employment	8	27%
Laws	9	30%

* The percentages presented total more than 100 due to multiple responses

Table 5 presents responses of interviewed councillors about what they consider as factors that determine the selection of council leaders (see question 15 of the questionnaire). The responses obtained from the interviewees indicate that gender and political affiliation are major factors considered during leadership selection. Other factors ranked highly were regional balance, religion and economic backgrounds of individual candidates. Age, tribe and previous experiences were ranked least.

5.2.1 Political Affiliation, Regional Balance and Religion

In spite of being a unitary state (without active parties as of present), council members have inclination to some political groups²⁴ and others are supporters of those holding higher political positions (such as the Council Chairman, Area Member of Parliament or other political shots). The obtained responses indicated that leadership selection was highly influenced by political factors. Respondents used words like political

²⁴ Respondents stressed two major political groups: Movement and Reform Agenda

ideology, political inclination or political affiliation to explain how political groups where individuals belong influence their selection. They stressed that the Council Chairperson tends to balance different political groups in the nomination for leadership candidates much as he/she would wish to reward his/her supporters. This is done to avoid disapproval of the nominees by the council.

From an interview with one KCC executive member for instance it was pointed out that only 2 out of the 5 KCC Ministers were Movementist and one other member remarked that political affiliation has been a big factor in the selection of the current executive committee although when it comes to executing their duties it does not matter whether one is a Movementist or a non-Movementist.

My problem here however was to define and statistically determine the movement and the non-movement political leaders. By law, every Ugandan at the moment belongs to the Movement system. The recent developments are that the government is organising for registration of political parties and has resolved to open the political space for 2006 elections. As a system, there are some individuals that hold different views from those of 'movementists' and those are whom my respondents referred to as multipartists or non-movementists. From the respondents, it was noted that the non-movementists are increasing numerically and are putting the existing political system on tension to the extent that they are said to be occupying the majority of political seats in the current legislatures.

Related to political inclination is the *regional and religion balance*. These are factors that are normally considered for purposes of equalising geographical locations and social groups to avoid marginalisation or resentment of the legislators or the citizens. According to the respondents, some electoral areas may feel marginalised in representation if they do not obtain any leadership seat in the council where policies originate. In the same way, different religions may feel that power and political privileges belong to a specific religion most especially to those from whom the Council Chairperson (district political head) originates. For these reasons, councils select their leadership from different constituencies and from different dominant

religions²⁵. From both councils, although it was not easy to obtain the actual religious backgrounds of all political leaders, it was evident from the obtained information that each of the three mentioned religions was represented and virtually all BLG counties and KCC divisions were also represented.

5.2.2 Gender Balance

Gender was also regarded as another crucial factor of political leadership recruitment by all respondents. Basing on the existing laws (that provide for women quotas, affirmative action and recognition of women's rights which are enshrined in the Constitution and the LGA), the urge to promote women participation in politics has called for inclusion of women in such political positions. The LGA puts it clear that *out of five* Secretaries/Ministers for a local council at least *one* must be a woman (Sec 17(3)). This could be a basis for selection of 2 women out of the five Secretaries/Ministers in each of these councils as established during the study. The quota law may therefore be regarded as a primary way through which women in the contemporary Ugandan politics may easily access leadership positions. Why do I argue this way? By the fact that each of the councils studied had only one female councillor that came on general elections ticket and that none of the two women was among the leadership position (as presented under 5.1) this seems to imply that quota law is one big factor determining women selection. The selectors normally aim at balancing gender in political positions as per the existing laws.

5.2.2.1 Gender and nature of leadership position held

As seen above, political recruitment within local councils considers gender as basic factor for selection of those to hold political leadership positions. The quota law stipulates a minimum of one third women representation (LGA Sec 11 and 24) within these councils. The law also stipulates a minimum of one seat of the council Secretaries to be reserved for women (LGA Sec 17(3)). The Executive committees²⁶ of both Councils (BLG and KCC) for instance comprised of 2 females (29%) of the

²⁵ Dominant religions identified included basically Anglicans and Catholics and to a small extent Islam

²⁶ Note that the executive committee excludes the Speaker and Deputy Speaker

seven members each which gives us a close ratio of 1/3 women to 2/3 men executives (See table 7 below).

Table 6: Executive Committee, Speaker and Deputy Speaker

Sector/ Position of leadership	BLG	KCC
LCV Chairperson	M	M
Vice Chairperson	M	M
Speaker	M	F
Deputy Speaker	F	F
Minister, Finance, Economic Affairs and Administration	M	M
Minister, Education and Sports	M	F
Minister, Social Services (for BLG); Health, Hygiene & Environment (KCC)	F	M
Minister, Production and Marketing (for BLG); Social Improvement, Community Dev't & Antiquities (KCC)	M	F
Minister, Works and Technical services	F	M

BLG Total males = 6; Females =3

KCC Total Males =5: Females = 4

Table 7: Committee Chairs

Committee	BLG	KCC
Finance, Economic Affairs and Administration	F	M
Education and Sports	M	F
Social Services (for BLG); Health, Hygiene & Environment (KCC)	M	F
Production and Marketing (for BLG); Social Improvement, Community Dev't & Antiquities (KCC)	M	F
Works and Technical services	M	M

BLG Total males = 4; Females = 1

KCC Total males =2; Females = 3

Source: Field data

From the presented data in the tables above it is observed that males dominate positions of Council Chairperson and Vice chairperson in both local governments.

This concedes with Ahikire's earlier argument (seen in chapter two) that male occupy top positions in local governments based on the 1998 local government leadership data (Ahikire 2001:18). It shows a similar trend as that seen in the Seventh Parliamentary Committee chairs and it agrees with the 2003 top council leadership data presented in Table 3.

On the whole, males outnumber female leaders (at the ratio of 17:11) although they have the same ratio in KCC (7:7) while in BLG the ratio of men to women leaders is 10:4. The feminisation of deputy role seems to be of a lesser degree here (except in the position of deputy speaker) but we cannot dispute it because the committees shown provide a few deputy positions. In any case I believe that the women's deputy positions is a positive trend towards getting closer to power considering the fact that women political involvement is a recent phenomenon. It is hoped that such deputy roles groom today's women as chairs of tomorrow.

The specialisation and high affinity of women for specific sectors stated by many scholars seems not to count a lot in the Local governments cases studied. It has always been argued that women political leaders tend to head 'soft' reproductive sectors like education and health, welfare, or the environment where as men take up 'hard' productive sectors of economy, industry, energy and foreign affairs (Karvonen and Selle 1995; Phillips 1996; Craske, 1999). In the cases studied however, except the position of Minister of Finance, Economic Affairs and Administration, and Committee Chairpersons for Works and Technical Services, other sectors are headed both by males and females. For instance Minister for Works and technical services in BLG is a female while in KCC is male. Other sectors like Social Services and Education which are regarded as soft sectors are also headed by both males and females. The figures shown therefore tend to disqualify the process of 'functional marginalisation' in the horizontal division of labour described by Karvonen and Selle (1995:31). This could be an implication that the gender roles are becoming less distinctive and that perhaps the masculinity level of our societies is facing erosion with time.

5.2.3 *Education of the Political Leaders*

Education and previous experience are some of legal qualifications for political holding (Prewitt and Verba 1975). According to Prewitt and Verba leaders are atypical in their social origins in their educational attainment and in the occupations they held before reaching political office (pp: 118). Fowler (1993:45) is of the view that *elites* form a social class from which leaders should be selected. Tripp (2002: 13) notes that recent years have seen a larger pool of educated women access high ranking civil service positions, and that is has enabled women to run for office and seek leadership in many arenas.

Definitely, there is an overall impact of education on the economic and social well-being of women including their families and society. Education according to Karl is a crucial factor for individual women and family incomes, health, reduced fertility rates, and is a basic source of knowledge of their rights and skills to contribute to and benefit from development efforts. It empowers women by increasing their status in the community and it places them on a more equal footing with their male counterparts (Karl 1995:10). Low incomes, poor health, many children and lack of knowledge are known to be some major obstacles limiting women political participation and education serves to minimise their negative effects on public involvement. These problems and many others confine women to domestic roles leaving them less opportunities to join politics or advance in their political careers.

In Ugandan local governments, education is an essential factor if a council has to have able members to formulate policy issues, deliberate and resolve political problems. It provides knowledge and skills and minimises councillors' fear, inferiority complex, low esteem and apathy because a knowledgeable person will always be able to comprehend political issues and will confidently contribute to council discussions. Education also minimises the problem of language and self expression considering the fact that English is a mode of council deliberations (see Rules of Procedure for District Councils, rule no.6 and LGA Third schedule Sec 10 (1)), and official communication. English is also a common language of instruction in schools.

Table 8: Education Levels of the council leaders

	BLG			KCC		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
Degree	7	0	7	6	5	11
Diploma	2	3	5	1	2	3
Certificate	1	1	2	0	0	0

Table 8 shows a comparative analysis of council leaders in the studied local government cases. BLG leadership consists of 7 (50%) male University graduates, 5 (36%) diploma holders and 2 (14%) certificate holders. In KCC, 11 (79%) of the 14 leaders were University graduates while 3 (21%) had diplomas and no certificate holder. There are more women with higher education level in KCC than in BLG and this may offer an explanation why KCC has more women leaders than BLG. Like one male councillor from BLG observes;

Women are few in political leadership positions because most of them are not able to articulate issues. One problem is that they have low education but they come to the council through other means like sectarianism, akamiro²⁷, or other factors. The law should have provided for minimum qualifications.

This observation shows the recognition of education as an essential element in political leadership recruitment. Women with higher education are more likely to access political power than low educated women.

5.2.4 Previous Experiences of political Leaders

With experiences (in politics or other public offices) individuals gain confidence and get equipped with knowledge and expertise with which they can handle political issues. Others believe that experience, more particularly for those councillors holding another term of office, enables the continuity of the previous programmes (Prewitt 1970:182). In this study however, respondents attached less value to experiences as seen in table 5.

²⁷ 'Akamiro' is the local term used to mean issuing of money to win votes.

Table 9: Past Experiences

	BLG	KCC
Self Employed	4	6
Retired Public Servants	7	5
Employed by Private Institutions	3	3
LCV Councillor before	7	8
Member of Community Based Organisations	14	14

Table 9 presents past experiences of the council leaders. Many scholars hold that experiences of candidates have a big influence upon their selection. Prewitt (1970) sees experience from the socio-political mobilisation context; Fowler (1993) similarly views it as an outcome of individual previous the psychological profile that influence personal behaviour; while other writers like Prewitt and Verba (1975) and Thomas (1998) stress factors like occupational background, Educational accomplishments and electoral experiences. Thomas also identifies involvement in corporate businesses and law firms as another way of women seeking higher careers (pp 5).

The councils studied show that 100% of the political leaders had been members of some Associations, co-operatives or agencies found in the community and nearly all of them said that they had held positions of chairs or executive members of these organisations. This may be one reason that qualified them as political leaders of the council as such organisations are normally regarded as sources of skills and knowledge necessary for leadership as some councillors noted.

Leaders' involvement in the Community Organisations however is but one aspect of the individual past experiences shown in Table 9. It therefore cannot give us a concrete explanation about whether experiences have a great impact on leadership recruitment in the studied councils or not. Perhaps we may also need to consider previous political experience as another aspect as some studies have shown.

Table 10 Political Experiences

	Male	Female	Total
Council members who were LCV Councillors before			
BLG	17	6	23
KCC	5	7	12
Current leaders who were LCV Councillors before			
BLG	6	1	7
KCC	4	4	8
Current leaders who were LCV council leaders before			
BLG	1	0	1
KCC	3	2	5

Available records of the councillors term of office from 1998-2002 show that the old BLG council comprised of 49 councillors of whom 19 (39%) were women. KCC on the other hand comprised of 30 councillors of whom 13 (43%) were female. Table 10 shows that only of the 19 BLG former women councillors, 6 (31%) women made it back to the 2002-2006 council and only 1(16%) out of the Six was elected as a leader. In KCC out of the 13 former women councillors, 7 (53%) made it back to the current council and 4 (57%) of them were selected as leaders. No former BLG woman leader was re-elected in the current council leadership position while in KCC 2 women leaders were selected in the leadership core for the second term of office. The implication here is that women with political experiences have higher probabilities of accessing leadership within urban councils than in rural councils.

As a whole however, previous experience may not fully account for leadership selection as both the responses and the actual figures show. In table 5 for instance we saw only 27% of the respondents regarding previous employment and experiences as crucial in political recruitment. Considering the variations in the various aspects shown in Table 9 it may be argued that past experiences do not offer us a conclusive explanation of the councils' leadership selection. Although some KCC previous women councillors found their way back to the council and to leadership, it is difficult

to tell whether their selection was as primarily a result of their political experience or whether it was determined by other factors. If it was a question of past political experiences how then can we explain the above presented BLG vis-à-vis KCC cases which has a lot of variations? Or why should we not have the 7 KCC current women leaders being the ones from the old council? And in case of BLG council, why do we find the only female councillor who came into the council on the general vote and who was a Deputy Speaker in the previous council not even selected to head any council committee? Moreover according to the council records the councillor is educated, possesses vast working experiences with various organisations and passed elections as unopposed candidate.

My analysis of the councillors' previous or current employment also suggests that experience is of little significance in their selection for leadership. Although only a few came from private organisations in both councils, neither of the councils had more than 50% of the leaders with the public service nor those with self-employment experience. This could imply that the nature of employment has a little impact on leadership selection otherwise we would find a dominant group of council leaders originating from a similar employment background.

5.2.5 Income/Financial status

Women have made gains in the economic sphere as much as in decision making arenas. They have become economically empowered through Agricultural activities and innovations as well as income generating activities in formal and informal sectors in both urban and rural areas (Tripp 2002:12). What may be noted is that the economic status of the rural and urban woman may differ in magnitude given the socio-economic set up of either geographical area. The point raised here however is that, little or much, income provides women with some power and ability to participate in public affairs. It is therefore not by chance that money was identified as one important factor in political recruitment.

Table 11 Monthly Average Incomes of Political Leaders

	BLG	KCC
Males	0.7	2.0 m
Females	0.3	1.5 m

The table shows monthly average incomes for BLG and KCC Councillors²⁸. The income levels show a significant margin in urban and rural areas as well as between different sexes. The income margin of male and female councillors in BLG however seem to be much higher than that of KCC. Since women incomes in KCC is far above that of women in BLG and since women consist of 50% of KCC political leaders, this may imply that economic potential is a necessary element in contesting for political power.

From the obtained data, 24 (80%) of the respondents contended that local governments elections require a lot of finances (See table 5). They said that as political candidates, they need money to run campaigns. They need to publish campaign materials (books, booklets, pamphlets, magazines, posters and the like), contribute to different projects in their constituencies and facilitate campaign managers who mobilize people for the votes. And as noted in Chapter four, candidates for local governments councillorship pay a nomination non-refundable fee equivalent to *two and a half currency points* (about 125,000 Uganda shillings currently) while the District or City Chairperson candidate pays *ten currency points* (LGA Sec 113(a) and 120(f)). One woman executive member from BLG remarked that politicians need a lot of money which at times necessitate borrowing loans to enable them go through campaigns and loan repayment becomes a problem because once they are in the council they continue spending on issues like fundraisings, and other public demands.

This implies that to run as a councillor one must be having a prior source of substantial and regular income which is able to sustain him/her all through even when selected as a political leader. And as Ahikire contends, although the economic factor

²⁸ The amount given is in Uganda Shillings (Ug Shs) and on International rates 1US Dollar is equivalent to about 1900 Ug Shs currently.

affects poor men too, the nature of women elections exacerbates this problem (Ahikire 2001: 19; also refer to Electoral laws for councillors under 4.4). The common view of women councillors interviewed was that women are hit hard by the economic demands for political involvement because women constituencies are relatively large compared to other councillors', and so they need more money to canvass for votes during elections as well as to enable them reach their electorates to fulfil their responsiveness and accountability obligations.

Economic demands were expressed as a big disappointment by councillors (and mostly leaders). They stressed that political representatives and leaders were always expected to appear everywhere, every time and contribute unlimitedly. These demands become excessive and the politicians become demotivated as one pointed out:

Today is a burial, tomorrow is a wedding, the other day is a fundraising and every day you go home you find people with all sorts of problems seeking for assistance. No private home for a politician (Woman Councillor KCC);

The concern of these women councillors were that electorates attribute every asset a politician acquires during his/her term of office to public funds and so seek solutions to their individual and public problems from the political leaders not as a favour but as a right or obligation. They stressed that as a representative (and moreover holding a substantial political position among council leaders) you are expected to find jobs for jobseekers; contribute to school fees and health dues of the poor and the relatives; ensure that public goods like roads and water are available and such many demands. Less generosity and contributions are equated to non-performance and is likely to fail you votes come the next elections. A term "Pull Hard Down Syndrome" was used to describe how being a political leader does not contribute to your advancement but to your demise. To them this problem although general, affects women more than men because of their nature – passion, modest, tender and always aiming at maintaining good interpersonal relations within the community (Hofstede 1991:82; also see Sue 1998 :176). Women in the long run become demotivated and loose interest in vying for positions of political responsibility.

5.2.6 Personal abilities

Though low rated at 30% (see table 5), merit and personal capabilities were regarded as some factors influencing leadership recruitment. Individual traits were found to be an inspiration to personal desires and needs to run for a political office. Individual traits and capabilities were also noted as factors enabling selectors to make choices among the many contesting candidates and seemed to be a strong motivation for retaining the current positions or seek higher political offices. An individual would run for a political office after calculating his/her possibilities to defeat fellow contestants for the same position. According to respondents, if an individual realised that the possibilities of winning were minimal, he/she would stand down for a fellow candidate after negotiation and coalition processes. Selection of leaders in the studied councils was said to be taking into account ones leadership qualities, knowledge, individual lobbying, popularity, personal behaviour, confidence and self expression all of which rotate on personal abilities.

Personal abilities were on the other hand, were found to be a basis on which women leaders harmonised their interpersonal relationships and their subordinates work performances. It is argued that women operating within institutions populated predominantly by men (such as our local councils), have sound reasons to emphasize task accomplishment (Rosenthal in Thomas 1998:176). Women by nature (as a result of their social orientations) value getting along with others. But because women leaders have to 'get the job done' they need to forego such stereotypes and as Morrison, White and Van Velson (1987 cited in Thomas 1998:176) observe, '... executive women combine toughness and femininity and stay within a "narrow band of acceptable behaviour" in order to contradict stereotypes that might imply weakness' (ibid).

Concerning the leadership approaches used by women councillors in the studied local councils, one executive councillor in KCC stressed;

Duty is duty and I am always firm on my stand as far as official duties are concerned. And another one said; I always act according

to the situation. A response from a woman councillor in BLG council was: I have to separate persons and official roles. No leniency, I follow regulations.

These responses imply that women political leaders have gone a long way to utilise their personal abilities and lessening the inclination toward maintaining interpersonal relations. Gone seem to be the days when women were meant to maintain social harmony at the expense of their performance and task accomplishments.

Although some women had succeeded in their contests for leadership positions due to their abilities however, others were said to be finding it a big challenge to their selection opportunities. It was stressed that most lack skills, knowledge and stamina to go public, present and articulate political issues. Women's past experiences of a limited public life coupled with low education (of some women particularly in rural councils) make it problematic for their selection. Low education, lack of professional experiences and knowledge of some important political issues, laws and procedures merged to perpetuate women fear and inferiority complex as one male councillor from KCC noted:

There is self isolation of some women particularly those with low education. They have limited interaction with others due to different past experiences and lack of confidence, and although some may be knowledgeable, putting a point across becomes difficult during meetings.

This observation implies that selection of leaders not only considers candidates knowledge but also their social behaviour and individual implicit characteristics.

5.2.7 Marital status

Nearly all the women political leaders interviewed in both councils were married with an exception of 2 single women councillors in KCC and 1 widowed woman councillor in BLG council. Marriage in most African traditions is related with a sense of responsibility and cultural acceptability and as Ahikire notes, it is one of the areas around which political campaign questions rotate (Ahikire 2001: 34). Williams (in

Thomas and Wilcox 1998:46) is also of the view that a supportive and cooperative family plays a critical role in furthering careers of women in politics. “It is common for candidates, when presenting themselves for office, to show their social stability and personal character by making atleast some references during the course of the campaign to their families” (Ibid). These observations portray that a woman’s husband or children (and even other close relatives) are a big asset in her political campaigns and signifies that her marital status is essential for involvement in politics.

Although not classified and directly identified by the respondents among the major factors for recruitment, according to the study findings, there is an implication that married women get more selected in political recruitment since those who are married are far more than the unmarried. The major point noted by the respondents however was that marriage poses a considerable challenge to women leaders, citing its related hindrances such as cultural barriers and family roles. Even the media reporting and coverage of women was said to be always focussing on “woman hood” related issues and that it reflected more of the social behaviour than their official political achievements. As one woman councillor in KCC noted;

Because the mainstream media in the country is owned and run by men, there is not much reported on women except when they do something outrageous. They report such issues as in which male company you were seen, how councillor (Mrs) so and so was dressed etc

Marriage therefore acts both as factor enhancing women selection but also a limitation in their performance and political advancement as discussed in the next subsections.

5.2.7.1 Marital status, Political Leadership and Cultural Barriers

Cultural barriers were seen by the respondents as a big problem particularly for women selection right from the time they enter politics. Married or unmarried, women faced a political recruitment problem either way. Ahikire’s study on Gender Equity and Local Democracy in Uganda reveals that “if a woman was not married, there were questions around her moral standing. If a woman was married there were

questions around the origins of her as a person and that of her spouse” (Ahikire 2001: 34).

One of the findings of this study was that married women are not independent of their families and that those who are married seek consent of their husbands before they take up political positions. One woman councillor said,

Married women are not independent to join politics. Some husbands are not supportive while others are too possessive (Woman councillor BLG); and one male councillor’s observation was that: On the part of single women, they are despised by electorates.

These observations show how much impact our social structures have on women selection. Men are traditionally known as decision makers in the homes and they wield power to dictate their wives’ actions (Nassali 2000:9; also see Massoi 2003:79). For married women, it was noted that there has been traditionally a tendency of encouraging them to congregate in functions of religious-inspired associations such as Mothers Union that are concerned with issues of fidelity, honouring and obeying their husbands (Nassali 2000:42). Those who go for politics face a big challenge of maintaining the “womanhood” behaviour and cope with political institutional norms and demands. As a result there has been an outgrowth of a number of family instabilities or breakages and as one KCC woman councillor noted “married women often fail in politics because of mudslinging from their fellow competitors or unfriendly public”. Women politicians because of free integration with male colleagues (behaviour that traditionally was negatively perceived) are at times misunderstood as being promiscuous and ‘unwomanly’, a major cause of social and marital problems. The unmarried on the other hand are normally seen as ‘social failures’ who are not exemplary to the people they have to lead. Such stereotype beliefs have at times affected women self-selection either because they are not sure of their spouses/relatives consent and support or the possible unacceptability for the single/widowed ones by the selectors due to their social backgrounds.

Nevertheless, married or unmarried, all women are faced with natural bias problems perpetuated by cultural barriers. Women in contemporary Uganda still face bias and discrimination in political offices simply because “they are women”. The prejudice

against women has been noted in male counterparts as well as amongst women themselves. The traditional societal cultural norms, beliefs and values underrating women have persistently remained inspite of the slight changes in women socio-political position in the recent decades. Some men have continuously argued that numbers reserved for women representatives according to quotas is sufficient both as councillors and on council committees (Wagima 2002:75). One KCC male councillor for instance, when asked whether the number of women councillors and leaders should be increased in their council (see appendix II question 13) he answered:

The number of women in our council is just enough, no need to increase.

We can even have slightly fewer.

Such remark cannot be taken lightly nor should we regard it as a one man's view as some previous studies have already established that men's bias towards women poses a big threat in their political advancement (See Karvonen and Selle 1995; Thomas and Wilcox 1998; Tamale 1997; Nassali 2000; and Ahikire 2001).

And as pointed out earlier, women's cultural problem is known to be perpetuated further by the prejudice against fellow women. Women councillors need to act and look united to foster their empowerment and social control since the power of a group is always greater than that of an individual (Ahikire 2001:26). They need cooperation to lay strategies for expressing their views and pushing for their demands. Through caucuses and coalitions women would unite and fight against patriarchy, chauvinism and powerlessness which may augment their numbers in political leadership positions (Tamale, 1997:146). But can all these be achieved with the existing women bias against their fellow women?

Women are powerful but have no concerted efforts (Ahikire 2001:26). Tamale's (1997) observation is that, "women are women's worst enemies" (pp: 127) and one woman councillor for BLG suggested the same. She noted that, "Women do not support other women when they stand with men". Women who have made it to local politics as a result have failed to form long-lasting associations, caucuses and coalitions to promote women interests and enhance their 'voice' on council matters as some councillors noted below;

No caucuses on this council. In the last council we had it but it crumbled because there were no big issues (Woman councillor, KCC).

We have just started caucus in this council, it was not there before. But some women show less interest while others do not care. Some seem to be malicious and yet others refuse to attend for their own intentions (Woman councillor BLG who seemed to have less hopes in the survival of the caucus).

This is very pathetic on the side of women because their marginalisation problem becomes double edged. If a woman fails to support a fellow woman candidate because she is a woman, or because one is married and another one unmarried or because of the “Queen Bee Syndrome” in which those who have made it before (those with political experience and higher status) want to maintain their own uniqueness as Tamale (1997: 64) argues, how do we expect a massive support from men? Again, since women’s natural bias seems to be instinct, passed on from generation to generation and culturally embedded within individual societies, how can this problem be overcome to enhance women political recruitment?

5.2.7.2 Marital status, political leadership and family roles

Family obligations (household activities, child bearing and rearing) do not enable women to involve much in political leadership duties. Others because of their family roles which are almost entirely women’s responsibility are not selected or if selected find it difficult to fulfil their political roles. This agrees with the role conflict theory stated by Bochel et al (2000:39) which puts emphasis on the traditional role of women and makes a woman guilty if she does not fulfil her expected roles. It also supports Barry’s (1991) argument that women have often sacrificed their political lives or jobs for their families and children (Bochel et al 2000: 40); and to Williams (in Thomas and Wilcox 1998: 46) women responsibility for daily family needs signifies that running for a political office means breaking out of traditional gender roles. According to Williams,’ female candidates are sometimes asked how they propose to care for their children if they win office or whether their husbands approve of their

political life' (ibid). Even among the Nordic countries where women political involvement is known to be high, until the development of the Nordic welfare state, women's confinement in the family and household duties was a big limitation to their political participation (Karvonen and Selle 1995:60).

Married women in our African tradition are obliged to take care of their families child care, education, social welfare, health care and care for the elderly and some other relatives. All my respondents (including councillors and technocrats) agreed that family responsibilities had a big impact on women selection and political performance. It was stressed that some women due to these unending domestic roles at times find it difficult to attend political functions (including study tours, national celebrations, politically organised get-togethers) which would help them to build team work, gain experiences and acquire knowledge to enhance their leadership confidence and abilities. Political roles call for long hours of official work (at times out of station) and political leaders sometimes return home late, which leaves women with little time to fulfil their family obligations. As one councillor noted;

Many women who get political leadership responsibilities meet a lot of challenges to cope up with both home duties and political obligations. Some of them, who concentrate on political issues, fail their home obligations and get family breakages (Woman Councillor BLG).

Women's role of child bearing and rearing was equally emphasized by both male and female respondents as a big factor limiting their selection for political leadership. It was noted that when they deliver, women go for maternity leave unlike men. One male councillor also argued that even before delivery, effects of pregnancy have a big impact on women leaders as some become weak and sometimes unable to carry on with political duties. After the maternity leave, caring for the babies and other children still is entirely women's role as stressed by one councillor that:

At times I am chairing a meeting and I realise it is after 6.00 when I am supposed to pick children from school by 5.00 O'clock. And whenever we have to carry out duties off station or go for tours, I find it a big problem because I have to get someone to take care of the children while I am

away. Actually we have to forego some of the family responsibilities.
(Female Minister, KCC).

These observations confirm that in the highly masculine cultures like that of Uganda, women's domestic roles still pose a big problem to their political participation and most especially at the leadership level where political roles increase. Although we have moved a step from the pre-colonial traditional legacies of confining a woman to the private sphere, some biological functions cannot be done away with and women have to continue undertaking reproductive roles which have an obvious impact on their public duties. In fact, more than 50% of the respondents classified women political performance as *fair* and nearly all of them agreed that family responsibilities is one major cause of this above other factors for like personal abilities and low education.

The societal values, beliefs and norms that attach a lot of meaning to women marital status and require women to act 'womanly', and fulfil their family roles and obligations are seen as hindrances for women career advancement to political leadership positions. A woman's recruitment as a councillor or political leader may be based on her marital status. Depending on her social behaviour during her term of office, she may lose credibility which ruins her future career. We have also noted that family life affects women political performance. This also has a negative effect on such and other women's future recruitment into positions of political responsibility. And as such, politics has remained "a man's game and those women who try to play it face trouble" (Sue 1998: 15).

5. 2.8 Electoral laws and existing political opportunities

Leadership selection within these local government councils is partly guided by the existing legal and political leadership structures. Although a few respondents would distinguish between laws and other factors like gender, it was noted that like Prewitt's (1970:11) observation, laws specify the number of council seats and the legal criteria for filling them. Candidates become inspired to compete or get nominated for leadership depending on the nature and numbers of the posts available as well as the

procedures for filling them. Their political ambitions are therefore directed by the structure of political opportunities as stressed by Schlesinger (1966).

The councils' quota law stipulates a minimum of one third of the council to be women and at the leadership level as noted earlier, there is a reservation of atleast one seat of the Secretaries for a woman (LGA Sec 11, and 17(3)). Women are motivated and find it easier to compete with their fellow women for women seats. The creation of political opportunities for women has increased their representation numbers there by widening the recruitment pool of women leaders. It has also enhanced women's political ambitions and since the selection criteria to fill the stipulated posts is provided by the law (as seen in chapter 4), selectors find limited option than recruit women to occupy the reserved seats.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

The major issue behind this study was that world over; women find it difficult to access positions of political responsibility at both national and local levels. Problems to women political recruitment have particularly been identified by many studies at the representation level but they are manifested even in the higher political hierarchies. This study narrowed the area of focus to the political leaders – the elect of the elect. It centred on recruitment of women to leadership positions within local councils on assumption that it is easier for women who stand for general representation posts to advance in the political hierarchy than the quota women representatives. The study also presumed that men often find it easier to be selected as political leaders as compared to women.

Prewitt's theories of political leadership recruitment have been applied in the study together with the closely related Fowler's Candidacy Theories (refer to Chapter 2). The study viewed political recruitment from both institutional and individual perspectives since each is known to reinforce the other in a way that political systems are seen as complex with institutions that enable or restrain human behaviour. Human behaviour is said to consist of motives, desires and ambitions so driven to their political futures and are highly modified by political institutions (Schlesinger 1966:1-2). As Lasswell (cited in Prewitt 1970:15) notes, politics involves influence and power and that therefore those who aspire for political roles are driven by the need for power. Institutions however offer legal parameters that determine those who struggle to control that power – those who move into and out of political office. They employ institutionalised agencies and criteria that screen and select from numerable office contestants (Prewitt 1970:16). They define political opportunities and provide regulatory means for individuals' political ambitions (Schlesinger 1966:2).

Because human behaviour consists of implicit motives, desires and ambitions, individuals tend to select themselves for political power through use of personal traits and abilities to emerge from the rest of the population and to win the votes of their selectors. Their past experiences, educational background, legal qualifications, social

status and other factors discussed in chapter 5 build on to the personal ambitions and they would be of no use if individuals had no taste for assuming public offices.

The used theories therefore help us to understand how individual motives and institutions work together to enable recruitment of political leaders. The issue of individual leadership competence or accountability (that may be primary in political leadership selection) however seems to be so complex in a way that selectors and the selected will always have their implicit reasons for voting for particular candidates or standing for certain political positions. This complexity may be one reason why most theorists have been unable to come up with a comprehensive theory to explain political leadership recruitment.

6.1 The Study Findings

The findings of the study show that women representation in Ugandan local political levels is relatively high compared to what some studies have established in other countries (see Massoi 2003; Goldsmith 2000). The quota law has gone a long way to bring more women to political circles as cases studied show (refer to tables 3 and 4). Women at the representation and leadership have been found as follows:

Table 12: Council women representation and leadership

	BLG	KCC
Women councillors	38%	45%
Women leaders	21%	50%

*The percentages of women councillors are based on the total council posts and those of women leaders are based on total women councillors in each council.

Table 11 shows percentages of women councillors and women leaders in the two councils studied. The study established that women representation surpassed the 33%

quota provision in both local councils although the urban council (KCC) had a higher women representation percentage (45%) than the BLG rural council (38%). At the leadership level according to the study, the percentage of rural women political leaders is *less than a half* that of the urban council (21% and 50% respectively).

The analysis implies that women in urban local councils find it easier to access leadership positions than in rural councils. It can also be argued that urban women political recruitment from within the local councils is a little bit easier than recruitment from the general population since the percentage of women leaders (50%) is bigger than that of women councillors (45%). One other observation from the analysis is that women in rural councils find it easier to become councillors (38%) but an upward movement in the political hierarchy is limited (21% women leaders). The political career advancement of a rural woman is seen as being highly constrained by the societal stereotypes and cultural norms (seen in chapter 3 and 5) that have kept her poor, less educated, less experienced hence more disadvantaged as far as political leadership selection is concerned. That is partly why we find a drastically low percentage of women leaders in BLG compared to that of their council representation. Her ultimate rescue for political power therefore lies in the favourable laws that promote gender equality.

6.2 Explanations for leadership recruitment differences

The previous chapter has indicated that leadership selection within local councils is influenced by a number of factors ranging from socio-economic to socio-political. The factors identified include education levels, economic status, regional balance political affiliation, laws, gender, religion and personal abilities. Other factors of relatively low influence included family backgrounds, age, tribe, and previous experience and employment.

Of the above factors, the study carried out revealed major differences between the education levels and economic status among women from rural-urban councils as well as differences between women and men council leaders in either of the councils. Women political leaders from KCC were found to be highly educated and with more income compared to those of BLG (refer to table 8 and 11). Although the income margin between KCC males and females seems to be more than the income margin of

women and men of BLG, the findings suggest that the high level of income of women in KCC may put them to the advantage for recruitment than those in BLG considering the fact that elections are costly. By the fact that there are more women political leaders in KCC (50%) than in BLG (21%) and that women in KCC have higher incomes and education levels compared to BLG it can therefore be said that education and income are crucial factors in leadership recruitment within local councils. This proves right the 80% and 70% responses that income and education respectively are factors of political leadership selection (see table 5). The question that remains looming over our minds however is why some most highly educated and high income earning women councillors do not access political office. Although some possible answers may lie in the available political opportunities and the procedures of attaining such positions, other answers may be found in areas outside the social basis approach in which income and education fall.

Other factors were found to be more or less cross-cutting in both councils and recruitment was found to be based on: the constitutional/LGA provisions about council leadership posts and procedures of filling them including gender balance, constituency representation, Movement-Non Movement supporters and religious denominations. Effects of regulations and selection procedures in both councils were of little variation and political inclination seemed to be an indisputable factor of selection. Political leaders originated from virtually all constituencies and not withstanding their gender differences belonged to the major religious denominations (Protestant, Catholic and Moslem). Personal abilities being an implicit variable was not easy to establish physically but could be reflected in leaders' education, self expression, past experiences, general knowledge and other attributes that unfolded during the interpersonal interaction and discussions with the councillors interviewed.

As always noted and as some scholars contend however, personal traits and characteristics are not easily measured or observed so as to provide a direct criterion for leadership selection. The way a law may determine who and how one assumes power for instance is clear to the selectors and power seekers but the extent to which ones political ambition and personality may enable his selection remains contestable. Moreover individual behaviour is said to be an institutional outcome. One's ambitions and willingness to stand for a political post is known to be a result of political

socialisation and mobilisation obtained from socio-political institutions of ones lifetime (Prewitt 1970). This could perhaps explain why political recruitment has sometimes been basically viewed from the institutional perspective.

6.3 How do Prewitt's theories of leadership selection help us to explain ways that these factors influence recruitment within our local councils?

From the discussions above, it becomes clear that the Prewitt's theories of political recruitment are applicable in the local council political leadership selection. Some women are selected because of their education and economic backgrounds, others come up as a result of being politically active and yet others become leaders because of the existing institutional frameworks.

Prewitt's *social basis of leadership theories* help us to explain how education and income influence political recruitment. We have seen how the elites and the economically privileged women stand a better chance of selection compared to the less educated and the poor. The educated and economically empowered women gain self-confidence necessary for their self-selection and selection by others. Education also provides knowledge and skills that increases personal abilities for leadership. The two factors create a stratum of the eligible from which the political leaders are drawn and as discussed in the previous two chapters, these factors have been to some extent influential in the political recruitment within local councils.

In a similar way, Prewitt's *political socialisation and political mobilisation theories; and political recruitment theories* help us to understand how women political ambitions have developed from being participants in the private spheres to active politicians – councillors and political leaders. Women's social-political relations and their social networks in their families, schools, workplaces, associations, campaign and political groups or other forms of organisations, have gone a long way to shape their perspectives, desires, motives and abilities towards acquiring political power and gain more prestigious political positions higher in the political hierarchy. Most contemporary social-political institutions, organisations and social movements have

attempted to influence the way of patriarchal societal traditional cultural programming and women are now more visible in public spheres although they still encounter significant barriers in political advancement especially in rural social settings. Some women have got exposure opportunities to stimulate their aspirations for higher political offices and others in the process have been identified, groomed and supported to contest for political offices.

Finally Prewitt's *Electoral theories* do explain the actual practical process that local council leaders go through to occupy top political offices. The electoral process described in Chapter 4 sieves women and men candidates and narrows them to district political governors. The general population elects the council chairperson and councillors who form the council. The council nominates and elects its political leaders (men and women) basing on the earlier discussed sociological, psychological, institutional factors. The selectors aim at recruitment of capable leaders in the presumable democratic way in which candidates compete and voters choose with the overall aim of obtaining delivering and accountable leaders. But do elections in actual fact guarantee accountability and service delivery in our local governments? Once elected and given political authority, do citizens or selectors per se have any control over the behaviour of the incumbents to make them accountable or deliver?

I agree with scholars who limit their political thought to elections serving a purpose of narrowing down the candidates to governors. Prewitt theories help us to understand the narrowing process through which individuals go from the general citizenry to governors but the theories equally do not resolve the ambiguity surrounding reasons for electing a particular candidate. Therefore, although Prewitt's model is of relevance to the local council political recruitment, it fails to exhaustively explain why we find more men than women in political leadership; or why women leaders in urban councils are more than in rural councils or even why *non-quota* women representatives who are believed to come to political arenas on merit have not been selected as leaders as established by this study.

6.4 Women's Roadmap for Political Future

Although women have made an upward movement in political careers in the recent decades, it has been found that setbacks originating from their social backgrounds, educational experiences, low incomes and their natural traits remain a stumbling block in their political passage. Problems related to family obligations (household activities, child bearing and rearing), cultural barriers, natural bias, lack of cooperation among women and low levels of education (seen in chapter 5) have perpetuated their limited advancement in political careers. Women as a result have tended to shy away from direct competition with men and get confined in vying for quota seats with their fellow women. This is exemplified by the study findings which show only one woman in each of the studied councils as a direct councillor representative and there is a possibility that in other councils (not studied) there might be none.

Descriptive representation has done good to bring an upturn of women in legislatures but has however left a big challenge for women selection into higher political positions. Its principle of mirroring the characteristics of those who are represented has however overshadowed the quality aspect which matters in leadership selection. Moreover women political leadership goes beyond issues of constituency or social groups representation (who is represented) to initiation, debate and representation of issues related to policies and the district development in general.

The prospects of the 21st century women is that since the recruitment of women representatives and political leaders has done relatively well so far, mapping out and instituting strategies for more women political involvement at both representation and leadership level is the only way for the sustainability and continuity of the trend.

Phillips points out several ways through which women political participation can be improved as: 1) the willingness of political parties to make sex one other criterion of choosing their candidates; 2) making background changes in the society; 3) Increasing women labour market participation; and 4) making deliberate choices such as making multimember rather than single member electoral constituencies (Phillips 1995: 59).

Uganda can borrow a leaf from some of Phillip's identified strategies for increased women political involvement. Increased numbers in women in political arenas may be a way of increasing their experience, training and apprenticeship and being politically mobilised for more political activity involvement. It is one approach for changing women political (and to some extent social) attitudes, influencing institutional laws, and may ultimately serve as a substantial factor in changing the political system to one in women's favour. In such a way women will demystify the traditional male dominance in the political field and perhaps in the entire public sphere as a whole.

6.4.1 Change of attitudes

One such strategy is ensuring flexibility and change of family attitudes so as to reduce women cultural barriers (Hills in Bochel et al 2000:39). This can be achieved through political and social mobilization, education and enactment of laws that stress and protect women rights. Support from family and partners would not only encourage women to vie for political leadership positions but also inspire the selectors and reduce their bias on women performance as leaders. As seen in the study findings, women family roles affect their political duties and the reverse is true. It is only through understanding and support from the family members that women can break through these political huddles, increase their involvement in political activity and have their recruitment opportunities increased.

6.4.2 Institutional laws

Another approach would be the enactment and rightful implementation of laws. In chapter 2, 4 and 5, I discussed the purpose of laws in political recruitment. The current Uganda government should be commended for its affirmative action approach towards women engendering to promote democracy and development. The government has established laws stipulating individual rights and privileges and guaranteeing uplift of women status inter alia. The 1995 Uganda Constitution, the 1997 Local Governments Act, the 1998 Land Act, and other subsequent laws have gone a long way to support women struggles towards empowerment. The Uganda Constitution for instance provides for human rights regarding equality and freedom

from discrimination of all persons in all spheres of political, economic, social and cultural life and also rights of women (Chapter 4 Articles 21 and 33). Under the rights of women, the law accords women full and equal dignity of the person with men. In the presence of these laws however why do we still have a lot of gender inequalities in our society?

Having a law in place and operationalising it are two different things, let alone the law's inherent loopholes. As Bainomugisha (1999) observes, the majority of Ugandans do not know their rights even when they are stipulated by the law. Mwaka (1994) similarly argues that neither men nor women recognize women rights as human rights and that lack of women awareness about their rights as per the law, exposes them to untold suffering, exploitation, and limits their optimal participation in community and national development (Mwaka 1994 cited in Bainomugisha 1999:94). How then can we envisage the respect of women political rights and privileges from the citizenry that is not aware of them? These arguments therefore take me back to my earlier point of the necessity for intensive political and social mobilization and education of the masses. Unless there is awareness of the law provisions among the population who are the voters/pre-selectors of the political leaders and from whom the leaders originate, women socio-political barriers will indefinitely hold them low in their political careers.

From the findings of this study, I would also advocate for reforms in electoral law to increase women special seats of local councils since the '*atleast one third*' provision has acted almost as an upper limit of women representation in most councils. I share my view with many Uganda political analysts and feminists like Miria Matembe, Winnie Byanyima and others who have gone a long way from agitation for one third quota women representation in the national legislature to 50% women cabinet seats. The questions raised include: why a third? On what principle is one third based? What does balancing act mean? One of the columnists has stressed "I wish to strongly put it to fellow Ugandans that the correct share of cabinet parts for our dear womenfolk should be 51% ... not based on so-called gender basis but on gender logic and mathematical principle" (The Monitor, March 19, 1998). The columnist's simple logic argument is that Uganda women population is slightly more than that of males

and that therefore should be accorded a slight majority in all political legislatures including councils and committees.

Facts have proved that for one reason or another, few women contest for or win ordinary political representation seats (as shown in the cases studied). Women political salvation in the immediate future will therefore be seen from the review of the current quota laws to a higher percentage of women representation. The increased women numbers (as argued by Karl 1995; also agitated by most feminine activists) in the councils and other legislatures may provide higher chances of obtaining more eligible women candidates for leadership positions and perhaps once they increase numerically they may find strategies of achieving equality with men in sharing council political offices.

The initiation and enactment of other laws geared at improving the woman status is yet one other option of enhancing women political leadership. The current Domestic Relations Bill (in the offing) is one example of such laws. This bill is meeting a lot of opposition from male legislators and the Moslem community because of being seen as a threat to male dominance with intentions to dilute men power over women and changing customs/tradition that undermine women status (Tamale and Matembe in the Monitor Article of 18/11/2003). It is however hoped that once passed by the parliament, the bill will be a big achievement in the socio-political empowerment of women and this could be one way of increasing opportunities for women selection to political leadership because their barriers for selection will have been somewhat lessened.

6.4.3 Pluralism:

Prewitt (1970:18) considers institutionalization of Selection Agencies and Criteria in the communities as one of the means through which individuals can be sponsored or vetoed into political careers. Phillips in a similar way sees party politics as one significant way of recognising women under-representation and finding initiatives for incorporating more women in the party leadership especially through quota systems (Phillips 1995:58).

Encouraging party politics is one way we can envisage the increase of women into leadership positions. As noted earlier, Uganda's system of governance is currently a '*no party Movement system*' in which recruitment to local councils' political leadership depends on the choice of the selectors with no minimum requirements save for stipulated women seats and positions of Council Chairmen and their Vices. The research however established that political affiliation is a general factor affecting leadership recruitment (see Table 3). Political power distribution aims at balancing candidates who fall in the existing two major political groups – the Movementist and the Non-Movementists short of which there would be disharmony in the council processes. This forms a backbone of coalitions in support of certain candidates against others during campaigns for councillors' as well as leaders' selection. The criteria used for selection under such circumstances do not favour women since themselves are not united.

Having political parties with standard structures of their composition and leadership and the established criteria for political recruitment would perhaps give Uganda women a formal way of competing for and accessing political leadership. This has been achieved by political systems like in South Africa where women are heavily dependent on parties backed by quota law (Ahikire 2001:17). As Ahikire observes however, parties may promote women political involvement but may also destroy it depending on the party structural organization and selection procedures. The Indian and Tanzania party experience has proved this shortcoming (Ahikire 2001; also see Massoi 2003).

6.4.4 Education and Training

Low education and lack of sufficient knowledge, experience and skills related to leadership and political issues have been found as causes of low self esteem, shyness and fear especially among women according to my study findings. Women's pre-occupation with private life and traditional segregation in education opportunities particularly in rural areas have exposed them less to possible problems and solutions of our social political systems. Chances of becoming assertive and tough like men in the kind of masculine society we live are slim without the 'knowledge power'.

It is however hoped that the Universal Primary Education Program that started way back in 1997 in Uganda will gradually solve a bit of this problem. There are also many Capacity building courses being undertaken for councillors at all levels of local councils some of which specifically designed for women councillors (see Training Manual for women local councillors, 2002). These courses equip the councillors with knowledge about laws and procedures of local governments operations and provide them ideas of political leadership recruitment and practice. More of these tailor-made courses would be essential and would achieve a lot if they are extended to the general population since councillors come and go and normally a good number of them are overturned during new elections²⁹. The councils would then be saved from a recurrent new blood of councillors, very fresh and not knowledgeable as the ones before.

6.5 Conclusion

Political leadership selection is a gradual and continual process where the recruitment of leaders begins long before the actual public voting for the candidate into the eligible pool and narrows gradually from the large population to the few who hold top political positions (Prewitt and Verba 1975:121). Any of these stages of narrowing down the candidates involves many factors and leaders/governors are gradually obtained through sorting, picking and eliminating from the eligible pool at various levels of selection.

Women leadership selection is a function of a multitude of factors. These factors range from socio-political to economic reasons. Laws, financial capabilities, personal abilities, regional balance, religious considerations, marital status, political affiliations and previous experiences are some of the outstanding factors identified as bases of political leadership recruitment. Put in the negative sense, these factors impinge women political careers. Cultural barriers and family roles are known to be some of the major hindrances of women active political involvement.

As a result, men have continued to dominate political arenas and advance more in their political careers compared to women and this is particularly so with rural councils where traditional social-cultural norms are still paramount. Political

²⁹ The turnover for local government councillors in the 2002 elections was about 70% according to the Commissioner Local Councils Development

leadership selection has also been found to be easier for women in urban councils than rural councils. Since political leaders' recruitment has been found to be determined by a number of factors, women who come to the councils on a non-quota ticket have not found it as easy as expected to become council leaders. Instead, the quota law basis seems to override other factors and most women have continued to be selected to political offices for purposes of gender balance although the recruitment process may implicitly contain other pre-mentioned influences.

Considering the existing barriers of women political participation, it is hoped that as more strategies become adapted to increase women numbers in the public sphere, chances of women to advance in political hierarchies are inevitable. What women have achieved in the recent three decades or so is likely to double in a few decades to come as long as the governments are committed to support the women cause.

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APPENDICES

I List of respondents

a) Bushenyi Local Government

1. Vice Chairman, BLG
2. Secretary Works and Technical services, BLG
3. Secretary Production and Marketing, BLG
4. Secretary Social Services, BLG
5. Secretary finance and Administration, BLG
6. Deputy Speaker, BLG
7. Registrar/ Returning Officer, BLG
8. Chief Administrative Officer, BLG
9. Clerk to council, BLG
10. 3 Councillors
11. 4 Woman Councillor
12. 1 Female Youth
13. 1 Male Disabled councillor

b) Kampala City Council

1. City Council Speaker
2. City Minister for Education, Information and Sports.
3. City Minister for Finance and Economic affairs
4. City Minister for Health, Hygiene and Environment Improvement
5. City Minister for Works, Physical Planning and Inspection
6. 3 Woman councillors
7. 2 Councillors
8. Clerk to Council

c) Others

Commissioner, Local Councils Development Ministry of Local Government

Under Secretary, Ministry of Local Government

II Questionnaire

Questionnaire for the study of women leadership in local governments (Tick on the selected choice AND fill in the blank space)

Qn 1. Age ____

Qn 2. Sex M____F____

Qn 3 Religious affiliation_____

Qn 4 Constituency represented _____

Qn 5 Marital status
a) Married
b) Single
c) Other _____

Qn 6 Level of education
a) Ordinary level certificate (S. 4)
b) Advanced level certificate (S.6)
c) Diploma
d) Degree
e) Others

Qn 7 Average income per month: Uganda Shs _____

Qn 8 Position in the council (Specify all positions held or the committee you belong to)
a) Executive member _____
b) Committee chairperson _____
c) Committee member _____
d) Others _____

Qn 9 Occupational background:
a) Retired civil servant
b) Employed by private enterprise
c) Self employed
d) Others specify _____

Qn 10 i) Were you a councillor before this term of office?
a) Yes (State when) _____
b) No

ii) If yes, did you hold any leadership position?

a) Yes (State which position and when) _____
b) No

Qn 11 i) Do you belong to any Association, Cooperative society or any Agency, Organisation or group not related to the council?

a) Yes

b) No

ii) If **Yes**, state the name of the organisation, Association or Cooperative

Qn 12 Looking at the current procedures for selecting council office bearers (chairperson, executive member etc), do you regard them as putting into consideration equality of women and men?

Strongly agree

1 2 3 4 5

Disagree

Qn 13 Considering the number of women councillors in your council, how would you regard the number of those holding leadership positions

Very many

1 2 3 4 5

Very few

Qn 14 How would you rate the performance of women leaders in the council?

Excellent

1 2 3 4 5

Poor

Qn 15 In your own view, what do you regard as main factors that determine the election of council leaders.

Qn 16 What reasons would you think of as a major cause for low numbers of women leaders in local councils?

Qn 17 Which ways would you propose to enhance women selection for political leadership positions and participation in council decision-making.

III Interview guide

Qn: Worldwide there have been identified a problem regarding low women participation in politics and in leadership positions. In your view what are the major factors that limit women participation in leadership positions in local councils.

Qn: Do women councillors make concerted efforts in form of caucuses, coalitions or other forms of unity for the purpose of fostering their voice and enabling them to have influence in decision-making?

Qn: Women play many roles and responsibilities in our society and particularly related to the family responsibilities. Would you regard this as a factor affecting their selection or performance in political leadership positions?

Qn: Selection of council leaders normally is based on Local Council electoral procedures and there are Terms and conditions provided for those leaders (eg allowances, or other benefits). Usually many councils carry out training of councillors and provide them with necessary information relating to council operations to enhance their capabilities. All Council have rules and procedures to guide them. In spite of these factors women selection for leadership remains low. Why is this so? Could the changes in these factors increase women selection and performance?

Qn: To what extent do women contribute to council discussions/debates?

Qn: Does media reporting and coverage ie attitude and treatment of women politicians differ from male politicians.

Qn: How do women leaders harmonise the interpersonal relationships in relation to their subordinates work performances/task accomplishments